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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1889.

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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., June 16, 1890.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of said Association for the year 1889.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

S. P. LANGLEY,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

Hon. LEVI P. MORTON,
President of the Senate.

Hon. THOMAS B. REED,
Speaker of the House.

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York; their associates and successors, are hereby created in the District of Columbia a body corporate and politic, by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and to make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
Baltimore, Md., June 13, 1890.

SIR: In compliance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, which requires that "said Association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America," I have the honor to transmit herewith my general report of the proceedings of the American Historical Association at the sixth annual meeting, held in Washington, D. C., December 28–31, 1889. In addition to this general summary of proceedings, I send also the inaugural address of President Charles Kendall Adams, on "Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America," together with a paper on "The Spirit of Historical Research," by James Schouler, of Boston, the historian of the United States, and a monograph on "The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States," by Dr. G. Brown Goode, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in charge of the U. S. National Museum, and a bibliography of the published works of members of the American Historical Association, prepared by Paul Leicester Ford, of Brooklyn, New York.

Very respectfully,

HERBERT B. ADAMS,
Secretary.

Prof. S. P. LANGLEY,
Secretary Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AT SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

By HERBERT B. ADAMS, Secretary.

The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga in 1884, with only forty members, for the promotion of historical studies. In six years this society has grown, by a process of historical selection, to a membership of six hundred and twenty, with one hundred life members. At the sixth annual meeting, which was held in Washington, D. C., from the 28th to the 31st of December, 1889, there were present eighty-seven members, the largest attendance in the history of the Association.

The following is an alphabetical list of members present:

Charles Kendall Adams, president.
Herbert B. Adams, secretary.
Prof. H. C. Adams, Ann Arbor.
Dr. Cyrus Adler, of Baltimore.
Miss Maria Weed Alden, New York.
Dr. Charles M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr.
Dr. W. G Andrews, Guilford, Conn.
Dr. E. M. Avery, Cleveland.
Prof. Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven.
Dr. Frederic Bancroft, librarian of the State Department.
Hon. George Bancroft, ex-president of the association.
General William Birney, Washington.
Prof. Edward S. Bourne, Adelbert College, Cleveland.
Henry E. Bourne, Norwich Academy.
Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, New York.
Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, Baltimore.
Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University.
Prof. Howard W. Caldwell, University of Nebraska.
General Henry B. Carrington, of Boston.
Judge Mellen Chamberlain, of Boston.
Rev. Thomas S. Childs, D. D., Washington.
A. Howard Clark, U. S. National Museum.
Mendes Cohen, secretary of the Maryland Historical Society.
W. V. Cox, U. S. National Museum.
Maj. Gen. George W. Cullum, U. S. Army, New York.
Prof. R. H. Dabney, University of Virginia.
General Charles W. Darling, secretary of the Oneida Historical Society.
Llewellyn Deane, Washington.
Dr. William A. Dunning, Columbia College.
Paul Leicester Ford, Brooklyn.

Mrs. Olivia M. Ford, Washington.
Dr. E. M. Gallaudet, president National Deaf-Mute College.
Dr. G. Brown Goode, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.
A. A. Graham, State Historical Society, Columbus.
Judge Alexander B. Hagner, Washington.
Charles H. Haskins, Baltimore.
Prof. Paul Haupt, Baltimore.
General Joseph R. Hawley, United States Senate.
Col. John Hay, Washington.
Hon. Willam Wirt Henry, Richmond, vice-president of the Association.
Hon. George F. Hoar, United States Senate.
Prof. F. H. Hodder, Cornell University.
Roswell Randall Hoes, U. S. Navy.
Hon. John Jay, vice president of the Association.
Rear-Admiral Thornton A. Jenkins, U. S. Navy, Washington.
Miss Elizabeth Bryant Johnston, Washington.
Hon. Horatio King, Washington.
John A. King, president New York Historical Society.
Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, editor of Magazine of American History.
Edward G. Mason, president Chicago Historical Society.
Prof. O. T. Mason, U. S. National Museum.
John H. T. McPherson, Baltimore.
General R. D. Mussey, Washington.
Judge Charles A. Peabody, New York.
Prof. John Pollard, Richmond.
Dr. William F. Poole, librarian Newberry Library, Chicago.
Rev. J. E. Rankin, D.D., president Howard University.
James F. Rhodes, Cleveland.
Theodore Roosevelt, Civil Service Commission, Washington.
General Rufus Saxton, Washington.
Dr. Walter B. Scaife, Baltimore.
James Schouler, Boston.
Prof. Austin Scott, Rutgers College.
William Henry Smith, president Associated Press, New York.
Dr. Freeman Snow, Harvard University.
A. R. Spofford, Library of Congress.
Dr. Charles J. Stillé, Philadelphia.
Henry Stockbridge, Baltimore.
George H. Stone, Cleveland.
Henry Strong, Washington.
John Osborne Sumner, Harvard University.
Dr. Joseph Meredith Toner, Library of Congress.
Prof. William P. Trent, Univers of the South.
President Lyon G. Tyler, William and Mary College.
John Martin Vincent, Johns Hopkins University.
Mrs. Ellen Harden Walworth, Washington.
President Ethelbert D. Warfield, Miami University.
J. E. Watkins, U. S. National Museum.
William B. Weeden, president Historical Association, Brown University.
President James C. Welling, Columbian University.
Ex-president Andrew D. White, Cornell University.
W. W. Willoughby, Johns Hopkins University.
General James Grant Wilson, New York.
Prof. Thomas Wilson, U. S. National Museum.
Dr. Justin Winsor, librarian Harvard University.
James A. Woodburn, Johns Hopkins University.
General Marcus J. Wright, War Records Office, Washington.

The headquarters of the Association in Washington were at the Arlington Hotel. Three morning sessions, Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday, were held from 10.30 to 1 o'clock at the National Museum by permission of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, and three evening sessions on the same days from 8 to 10 p. m., in the large lecture hall of the Columbian University by invitation of President James C. Welling. Sunday and the afternoon hours were free for social purposes. On Monday, from 4 to 7 o'clock, a tea was given to the members of the Association and their friends by Mr. and Mrs. Horatio King, 707 H street, and on Tuesday afternoon, at the same hours, Mrs. Walworth extended to the Association a like courtesy at her new home, 1300 L street. By invitation of the board of managers our members enjoyed the privileges of the Cosmos Club during the four days' sojourn in Washington. Every evening after adjournment of the formal session of the Association at the Columbian University there was a social reunion at the Cosmos Club. On Monday afternoon and on Tuesday morning by invitation of the librarian, Dr. Bancroft, parties of historical students and specialists visited the State Department for an examination of the interesting archives there preserved.

The convention opened Saturday morning, December 28, in the large lecture hall of the National Museum. The walls were decorated with the Catlin collection of Indian portraits, with pictures of Pueblos and Cliff dwellers, and with the busts of American statesmen. The room was admirably suited to the purposes of the Association. The curators of the Museum had introduced a number of cases for the display of interesting historical relics, books, manuscripts, etc., which attracted great attention on the part of the members as they entered or left the hall. The first paper presented at the morning session was by Prof. George L. Burr, of Cornell University, who has in his immediate charge the excellent historical library of ex-President Andrew D. White. The subject of Mr. Burr's paper was "The Literature of Witchcraft," for the illustration of which ample materials had been found in Mr. White's library. The literature of witchcraft includes perhaps a thousand volumes. The earliest was written in the fifteenth century, and their authors were Dominicans of the Inquisition. They regarded the subject as an old one. Indeed, the Church had always fought against magic. She had taught that the gods of the

pagans were devils and those who worshipped them were sorcerers. The belief in Satan was developed by mediæval monks and the Church fathers, re-enforced by Byzantine speculation. Belief in the Devil's activity in this world was elaborated by scholasticism into a system, of which the whole literature of witchcraft is but a broken reflection. To detect and punish the servants of Satan was the work of the Inquisition and the persecutors of witchcraft in England and New England.

The second paper of Saturday morning's session was "A Catechism of Political Reaction," by ex-President Andrew D. White. In his preface to this paper Mr. White called attention to the fact that while studies of the French Revolution in Europe have been developed to an enormous extent there has been no corresponding treatment, indeed no adequate study of the reaction after the various revolutions. Mr. White's paper was a contribution to such a history. His essay was based upon a very rare and curious little book which he obtained at Sorrento three years ago. The book was a wonderfully well-argued and well-written catechism by the Archbishop of Sorrento, who was placed by the King of the Two Sicilies, about 1850, at the head of the department of public instruction at Naples, and also made the tutor of the young prince. It contains the most amazing declarations of war against modern civilization, and indeed against nearly everything moral, political, or social which the nineteeth century regards as a landmark of progress. It argues with wonderful force that the king is not bound by any oath that he may have sworn to maintain a constitution, and urges with extreme cleverness all the arguments in support of absolute government. Mr. White took up several chapters of this remarkable catechism and gave in detail the argument in each.

The third paper was by Herbert Elmer Mills, Instructor in History, Cornell University, on "The French Revolution in San Domingo." In 1789, San Domingo was by far the most important of the colonies of France. Commercially it was prosperous, but its population was divided into the Creole planters, the free "people of color," and the slaves, by far the most numerous class. Government was in the hands of the French minister of marine, and was administered by a governor and an intendant. The people had no political privileges, and this fact had long irritated the Creoles. At the first announcement of the approaching meeting of the States-General in

France, the people of San Domingo took measures to secure representation, hoping thereby to win for themselves the control of the island. Delegates were chosen, but a careful study shows that the assemblies which elected them were widely scattered and by no means represented the entire body of the planters. At first the representatives were given a seat, but not a voice among the Third Estate; but before the end of 1789 they had won recognition as entitled to six votes in the National Assembly. Meantime the free people of color in San Domingo had not been idle. Their representatives also appeared at the National Assembly and claimed seats. It has been assumed by historians that these representatives were actually elected in the island and sent to Paris, but the truth is that they were chosen merely by members of this caste who were residents of Paris. No place was granted them in the National Assembly. Of course neither emancipation nor representation of the servile class was thought of either by the whites or free people of color in San Domingo.

The last paper of the morning session was read by Clarence W. Bowen on a newly discovered manuscript called Reminiscences of the American War of Independence, by Ludwig Baron von Closen, Aid to Count de Rochambeau. This manuscript was found in the early part of the year 1889 among the archives of the Von Closen family in their castle in Bavaria. A translation was sent to Mr. Bowen, who read brief extracts. Ludwig Baron von Closen, the author, was born August 14, 1755, and in his early years entered the French military service. On the arrival of the French expedition in Newport, R. I., in 1780, he was made Aid to Count de Rochambeau, commander of the expedition. Previously he had been captain in the regiment Royal Deux Ponts. On returning to France in 1783, Von Closen received from Louis XVI. the Order of Legion of Honor, and the Order for Merit, and in 1792 was informed of his election, with the permission of the King of France, to the Order of the Cincinnati. He died in 1830. In his reminiscences he speaks of his visits to John Hancock of Massachusetts, Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia. He conducted Washington from the Hudson River to Rochambeau at Newport. He reports the conferences between Washington, Rochambeau, La Fayette, and De Grasse near Yorktown. His visit to Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon, a ball he gave at Baltimore, and visits to other

sections of the country are described by Von Closen in the most charming manner. His reminiscences are full of historical interest, and are an important addition to the literature of the French in America during the Revolutionary War.

The evening session on Saturday began promptly at 8 o'clock at the Columbian University, with the Hon. John Jay, of New York, presiding. In a brief but comprehensive sketch Mr. Jay reviewed the work of the morning session and then introduced President Adams, who delivered an interesting inaugural address upon The Recent Historical Work of the Universities. He said that the first distinct professorship of history was established at Harvard University in 1839, for Jared Sparks. At Yale, as at other American colleges, history was long taught by means of text-books without much real enthusiasm. A great advance was made when Andrew D. White, fresh from original studies in France and Germany, entered upon an historical professorship in 1857, at the University of Michigan. From that institution President White's influence was transmitted to Cornell University, which developed the first distinct professorship of American history. Senator Hoar, after President Adams's address, called attention to the fact that Jared Sparks's lectures at Harvard University were largely upon American subjects, and were at the same time original contributions to American history. Mr. Adams reviewed the progress of historical science in the various countries of Europe, including Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Germany, and France. His conclusion was, that the best advantages for historical study are now to be found in the schools of Paris, and that before the achievements of European universities American scholars find more to encourage humility than pride. Remarks were made upon President Adams's paper by President White. Professor Austin Scott, of Rutgers College, justly called attention to the works of the smaller colleges in America, and to the services of the late Professor Allen, of the University of Wisconsin, who was one of the most critical scholars and ablest teachers of history in this country.

After the inaugural address, Mendes Cohen, corresponding secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, gave an interesting account of the discovery of the Calvert papers in England, and of their recent publication in Baltimore. He exhibited to the Association the first volume, which has just appeared from the press. Mr. Cohen's statement of the progress of an impor-

tant work undertaken by a State historical society perhaps foreshadows similar reports that may be presented at future meetings by delegates from the various historical societies of the United States and of Canada.

The Association re-assembled Monday morning, December 30, at half-past ten, in the National Museum, President Adams in the chair. The first paper was on "The Origin and Early History of our National Scientific Institutions," by Dr. G. Brown Goode, assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Dr. Goode reviewed the entire history of scientific and philosophical societies in this country, and gave special attention to the development of literary and scientific institutions in the city of Washington. He called attention to the fact that, as early as 1775, when Washington was in his camp at Cambridge, Major Blodgett said to him that a national university ought to be erected in which the youth of the whole country might receive instruction. Washington replied, "Young man, you are a prophet, inspired to speak what I am confident will one day be realized." Dr. Goode pointed out the various tendencies toward the development of a larger scientific and intellectual life in the Federal City. He traced the history of its various institutions of learning, including the Columbian University, the American Academy of Sciences, and the Smithsonian Institution, with which the American Historical Association was allied by Act of Congress approved January 4, 1889.

The next paper was on "The Development of International Law as to Newly Discovered Territory," by Dr. Walter B. Scaife, Reader on Historical Geography in the Johns Hopkins University. His paper opened with a brief sketch of the policy of the Roman See as the arbiter of Europe, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Dr. Scaife showed that the bulls of Alexander VI., dividing the non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal, were not manifestations of an unheard of presumption, but were the natural outgrowth of precedent conditions. But this authority was now rejected, and was replaced by the rule of force. Meantime, international law had started on its career to try to persuade men to be governed by reason rather than by force; and ever striving toward the ideal, but keeping the practical in mind, it advanced in the course of two centuries and a half to the formulation of rules of action, high in their aim and still practicable in their application. During this time the practice of nations was undergoing also modifica-

tions. Spain, finding the Pope's authority rejected by other powers, set up the right of possession by discovery; but in this England was at least her equal, inasmuch as her representative had seen the mainland of the Western Continent before any Spaniard. England advanced also this theory as long as it answered her purpose, then turned to another, viz., that actual occupation is necessary to effect a complete title. Finally, during the present decade, a union has been made of practice and theory in the formation of the Congo State; and rules have been formulated and adopted by the Great Powers for the future regulation of national action in the matter. The whole subject goes to show the value of forming correct scientific theories as to the affairs of men, even when apparently there is the least hope of their ever being realized; that they do have effect on the practices of mankind, and that a time will come when they will be recognized as the true standard of action.

An important contribution to *post bellum* historical literature was a paper on "The Impeachment and Trial of President Johnson," by Dr. William A. Dunning, of Columbia University, New York. The points which he considered were three: first, the causes contributing to the impeachment proceedings; second, the issues involved in the impeachment by the House; and third, the issue involved in the trial by the Senate. The causes which seem to have been peculiarly efficient were the personality of Johnson and his theory of reconstruction. There were three different attempts at impeachment in the House. It was the President's removal of Stanton in apparent defiance of the tenure of office act that precipitated the final impeachment. Before the Senate the most important question really answered was, whether the Senate could be viewed as a court proper or not. The radicals said no. The Senate's action, however, favored the contrary opinion. With this divided sentiment, conviction on any of the numerous charges was practically impossible. Article XI., involving the President's resistance to reconstruction, was most likely to prove successful, but failure to obtain a two-thirds vote on this matter was the knell of all impeachment proceedings. Dr. Dunning concluded that the framers of our Constitution built strongly in co-ordinating the various departments of our government. No circumstances more favorable to removing a President from office are likely to arise in the future, and the result of the

Johnson impeachment was a confirmation of the principle asserted by the fathers of the Republic.

The subject of the next paper was "The Trial and Execution of John Brown," by General Marcus J. Wright, of the War Records office, Washington, D. C. The paper was substantially an answer to Dr. H. von Holst's charges that John Brown did not receive a fair trial. General Wright reviewed the whole matter from notes and evidence taken at the time, and clearly established his thesis that every thing was done which the law required. The concluding paper of the morning session was "A Defense of Congressional Government," by Dr. Freeman Snow, of Harvard University. Dr. Snow said that Americans are now engaged in drawing comparisons between the English and the American Constitutions, and, like Mr. Bagehot, they find nearly all the advantages on the side of the English. The multitude, it is said, needs leadership. Hence, if we would save our society from disintegration, we must adopt the English system of responsible leadership. The error of this view, Mr. Snow contended, lies in looking too intently at the mere machinery of government, and not at society as a whole. The effect of obeying leaders is to take away from the masses the habit of thinking for themselves. If our government is at any time less efficient or less orderly, it is the safest in the long run, for it develops the capacity for self-government among the people. Dependence upon leaders, as in the English system, has the opposite effect. Too much is expected of popular government. We should not expect perfection from an imperfect people. If we want more efficient legislation, we must send men to Washington for just that purpose. The present condition of our politics is largely a legacy left us by the slavery struggle and the civil war. It is an abnormal condition of things and will pass away. It is even now on the wane.

The evening session of Monday was at the Columbian University, Judge Chamberlain presiding. The papers were devoted to New England and the West. This feature of grouping contributions by large subjects, such as European History, National History, the North, the West, the South, and Historical Science, was generally recognized as a great improvement in the arrangement of historical material. The first paper of the evening was on "The Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1789," by William B. Weeden, of Providence.

New England communities were founded on freehold land tenure; on a *meeting*, the local and social expression of religious life and family culture; and on a representative, democratic gathering corresponding to the old folk-mote of the Germanic race. Economically New England settlers profited by trade with the Indians through wampum. These beads were both jewelry and currency. As currency they were redeemable in beaver. When immigration was checked in 1640, the colonists built ships and bartered their own products among themselves. Vessels were loaded with fish, and sailed for the West Indies or Europe. Returning they brought iron, cordage, and all the goods needed by the new settlements. In this commerce the Puritans prayed, labored, and traded. Stephen Winthrop wrote to his father, after having sold his wine, "Blessed be God, well sold!" Commerce and the fisheries were nourished by home products. The New England whale fishery began in boats from the shore, and finally extended into every sea. The slave-trade and the making of rum were important factors in the industrial life of the eighteenth century. Even the founder of Faneuil Hall helped forward this form of commercial intercourse. Economic history is the basis of political life. No grand theory of government caused our American colonies to form a republic. The economic resistance of strong citizens to stamp acts and other economic grievances won us our magnificent rights of freedom, as truly as the charters of mediæval cities were obtained by purchase.

Mr. William Henry Smith, president of the Associated Press, New York, then read a valuable paper on "The Correspondence of the Pelham Family, and the Loss of Oswego to the British." Mr. Smith said that the president of the Association one year ago forcibly presented the importance of governmental aid in the collection of historical records, and commended the example of Canada to the attention of our legislators. If that admirable address by Dr. Poole penetrated to the interior of the Capitol, it would seem to be confined to the subterranean vaults, or buried beneath innumerable applications for office. The patriotic work of the Dominion of Canada should claim the attention of our great Republic. Mr. Smith said he was disposed to favor an extension of the Canadian Government over the United States long enough to inspire our legislators with sufficient patriotism to secure the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts relating to America. He then proceeded to illustrate the value of the papers of the Pelham family which

are now accessible, and relate largely to American affairs. The entire collection comprises 522 volumes, 305 of wh ch contain the official correspondence preserved by Thomas Pelham. It is arranged chronologically, from 1697–1768, and is especially rich in diplomatic papers relating to this country. Mr. Smith's paper will be published in full in the proceedings of the Association, and will doubtless be highly suggestive to students of American history.

The next paper was on "The Early History of the Ballot in Connecticut," by Prof. Simeon E. Baldwin, of the law department of Yale University. The paper was read in an impressive manner and held attention. The professor said that election by ballot first appears in American history as a constitutional provision, in the constitution of Connecticut of 1639. It was coupled with a system of prior official nominations; as regards the "magistrates," or those who came to form the upper house of the legislature. Twenty were annually nominated, of whom twelve only could be elected. The list was arranged by the legislature, on the basis of a previous popular vote, and the present incumbents were always put first, in the order of their official seniority. Only as these died, or refused a renomination, was there practically any chance for the election of any of the last eight. The first name on the official ticket was always voted on first, and so on; no one being allowed to vote for more than twelve. This gave great stability to legislation, and was what kept Connecticut so long subject to a Church establishment. When the power of the Federalists had declined everywhere else, it was as strong as ever in the upper house. The representatives elected semi-annually shared the feeling of the day; but the councillors, or "assistants," stood for that of ten or twenty years before. From 1783 to 1801, only one was dropped without his consent; and it took a struggle of seventeen years longer to give a majority to the "Tolerationists" and Jeffersonians. Congressmen were elected in a similar manner, and with similar results, down to 1818. The legislature published the nominations (twice as many as there were places to fill), and arranged them so that the first half—those already in office—were almost invariably re-elected. The Colonial charter of 1662 made no mention of the ballot, or of an official ticket, but both had become so firmly imbedded in use, that they were read into it, between the lines, and stood as fundamental institutions of the commonwealth for nearly two hundred years.

At the close of the evening session, Theodore Roosevelt, of the U. S. Civil-Service Commission, gave an *ex tempore* address upon "Certain Phases of the Western Movement during the Revolutionary War." He deplored the ignorance of Western history shown by Eastern historians. He likened the ignorance to that of the English regarding American history in general. Those who find American or Western history uninteresting and unpicturesque have only themselves to blame; for the fault lies in the critics, and not in the subject-matter, which is as heroic and inspiring as any great chapter in the history of the world. Mr. Roosevelt said the great West was won in the midst of war and revolution. He gave a graphic picture of the westward movement of the pioneers and the conquest of the Western country from the French and Indians. The motives of the first settlers were adventure, better lands, and the improvement of material conditions in life. Daniel Boone and his followers were joined by various parties of hunters. The region of Kentucky, that old hunting-ground of Northern and Southern Indians, were successfully occupied, but only after Lord Dunmore's war. There was but one route to the West, and that lay through the Cumberland Gap, which the frontiersman had to protect. The conquest of the Illinois country was achieved by the expedition of George Rogers Clark and the Virginians. Few Revolutionary heroes deserve more credit than this bold and aggressive military leader, who conquered the West for the American Republic. Mr. Roosevelt described how government was organized in that Western country upon the basis of English institutions, with which the settlers were familiar. The reproduction of the old English military system and of representation based on military districts, with palisaded villages as the primary seats of self-government, is most curious and instructive. The county-type of organization was naturally copied by settlers who had come from Virginia and the South. The foundation of this great Federal Republic was laid by backwoodsmen, who conquered and held the land west of the Alleghanies, and thus prepared the way for the continental dominion of the English race in America. The westward movement of the early pioneers can be best understood in the light of the westward march of immigration in our own time.

A lively discussion followed Mr. Roosevelt's spirited presentation of his subject, and exceptions were taken to his statement that there were no permanent settlements beyond the

Alleghanies until after the Revolution. Dr. Toner, of the Congressional Library, made a plea for the early settlers of the Ohio Valley, and Dr. Stillé, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Poole, of Chicago, entered the lists in behalf of numerous local settlements beyond the mountains. Mr. Roosevelt defended his thesis as a general proposition, and Mr. Edward G. Mason, president of the Chicago Historical Society, sustained him.

Tuesday morning the convention met once more in the National Museum, with a large and enthusiastic audience, to listen to a series of papers upon Southern history. In place of Edward Eggleston's paper on "Bacon's Rebellion," which he was prevented from giving, General Henry B. Carrington, who had just returned from Montana, spoke of "The Concentration of the Flathead Indians upon the Jocko Reservation," as betokening a better future for a tribe which, since the expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1805, has been uniformly friendly with the whites. Chief Carlos and every member of the tribe had consented to the removal. Their lands in the Bitter Root Valley are to be sold for the benefit of the Indians to the highest bidder. General Carrington maintained that the history of this tribe shows that Christianity must precede civilization and is essential to Indian development.

"The Constitutional Aspects of Kentucky's Struggle for Autonomy, 1784–'92," by Ethelbert D. Warfield, president of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, was the next theme of discussion. As early as 1776 Kentucky began to feel the necessity of self-government. In that year George Rogers Clark made the first demand for the separation of that region from Virginia. The mother colony allowed the institution of the county of Kentucky, which concession for the time allayed agitation. It broke out again in 1780, and soon became chronic. From the year 1784 to 1792, when Kentucky was admitted to the Union, no less than ten regular conventions were held and several irregular assemblies besides, in the interest of self-government for Kentucky. The history of the time is one of constant turmoil. Threats of violent separation, both from Virginia and the Union, were frequent; and yet not one action of an unconstitutional character stains the records of these various conventions. The conservative element was largely Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, and it held the balance of power, which was always exerted on the side of law and order. When the Constitution of the United States came before the

Virginia Convention, the district of Kentucky voted, eleven to three, against adoption. And yet when their own convention finally drew up a constitution, it leaned strongly toward the Federal instrument. Kentucky shares with Vermont the honor of first insisting on manhood suffrage. The period known as that of the Separatist Movements is one of singular self-restraint when viewed on the constitutional side.

The next paper was by President Lyon G. Tyler. of Williamsburgh, Va., who presented some historical facts from the records of William and Mary College, the oldest institution of higher education at the South. Mr. Tyler called attention to the fact that this venerable institution had lately been brought to life by an act of the Virginia General Assembly, which appropriates ten thousand a year to the support of the college. He traced the historic influence of the college upon the university idea in Virginia, and dwelt particularly upon the early elective system in vogue at Williamsburgh. He thought that this system was developed by Jefferson at the University of Virginia, and was not an importation from foreign universities. The first law-school in America was established at William and Mary. The professorship of George Wythe was the second law professorship in the English-speaking world. Mr. Tyler also maintained that the college exercised all the powers of a civil-service commission in appointing the county surveyors after examination. He described the early discipline of the college, and illustrated by extracts from the old treasury books the intimate relations between the college and the colony. As early as 1779, William and Mary College was doing its work by an advanced system of lectures on law, medicine, and natural science.

One of the most important papers presented at the convention was on "Materials for the Study of the Government of the Confederate States," by John Osborne Sumner, a graduate of Harvard University. The author said that historical attention had been directed almost exclusively toward the military operations of the Confederacy, but its constitutional and internal history were also of great interest. Much material for a study of the Confederate Government was destroyed during the war, and much that has been preserved is not yet accessible. We have, however, a full series of statutes, about one hundred and fifty executive messages, often accompanied by documents, and various reports of secretaries and bureaus.

There are also in print numerous congressional documents, ordinances, statutes, and governors' messages of the several States, together with the journals of their legislatures and conventions. The journals of the Confederate Congress are said to be still in existence, but their present place of deposit is not known. The Richmond newspapers contained full reports of public proceedings, but much business was transacted in secret, and is little known. The historical material actually existing is widely scattered among the public and private libraries of the country, and there is as yet no systematic bibliography of what has been published. The most important manuscript collection was that purchased by the United States Government and now preserved in the Treasury Department. It comprises a large portion of the correspondence of the Confederate Government with its agents abroad and at the North. Other Confederate documents are in the custody of the State Department, and there are several small collections in private hands. The publications of the War Records Office include Confederate documents; but the series thus far has been devoted to military history. The newspapers of the South in war time are a mine of history which has been but little exploited. Various magazines were published at the South, and two or three illustrated papers appeared at Richmond during the war, among them a *Southern Punch*. A noteworthy enterprise of the Confederate Government was the publication in London of *The Index*, a weekly review established for the cultivation of friendly relations between Europe and the South. Mr. Sumner suggested the organization of inquiry with regard to the existence of materials for Confederate history.

The Hon. William Wirt Henry, of Richmond, said that the library of the Southern Historical Society in his city was the chief Southern repository of collections relating to the civil war and the Confederate States. Dr. J. R. Brackett expressed the hope that Mr. Summer would print, in connection with his paper, a full bibliography of the materials which he had discovered. Prof. William P. Trent, of the University of the South, then read some interesting "Notes on the Outlook for Historical Studies in the Southern States." He called attention to the collection of materials for Southern history now being made in New York City. He sketched the condition of the various State Historical Societies in the South, and regretted the great lack of public enthusiasm for historical work. He described

the existing historical collection at Richmond and other places, and gave some account of the leading publications and monographs now in preparation. Mr. Trent urged that Southern history should be more earnestly studied by scholars in all parts of the country, and recommended a report of historical progress from the State societies to the American Historical Association. Dr. Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University, paid a merited tribute to the historical work of Mr. Hannis Taylor, of Mobile, Alabama, who, isolated from libraries and historical associations, had produced a valuable constitutional history of England. Dr. H. B. Adams emphasized Mr. Trent's idea of the importance of an annual report of the work done by State Historical Societies to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution through the medium of the American Historical Association.

The morning session was concluded by a brief and interesting paper on "The Relations of History to Ethnology," by Prof. O. T. Mason, of the National Museum. He showed that the student of human culture is constantly a debtor to the historian. To illustrate this idea he spoke of the myth of the armadillo. The existence of musical instruments bearing the same name among negroes on two continents can be explained historically. The student of ethnology spends quite as much time in libraries as in the field. He urged the Association to use its influence for the increase of the collections in the National Museum. He called attention to the motive which governs the operations of the ethnological department as entirely in harmony with the utterance of President Adams, that all things are now studied by the historic method. Professor Mason then explained the contents of the Museum cases, which had been wheeled into the audience room, to illustrate the nature of studies in the history of culture now in progress in Washington.

During the morning session the venerable historian, George Bancroft, now in his ninetieth year, entered the hall, and amid the applause of members of the Association was escorted to the platform, where for a few moments he occupied the president's chair after he had briefly addressed the Society over which he presided three years ago. The closing session of this, the most successful meeting of the American Historical Society, was devoted to historical science in general. A special report on the bibliography of members was made by

Paul Leicester Ford, the bibliographer of Franklin. A report was read by the secretary on "The Present Condition of Historical Studies in Canada," by George Stewart, jr., D. C. L., LL. D., president of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. Mr. James Schouler, of Boston, the distinguished author of the "History of the United States," read a philosophical paper upon "The Spirit of Research." He said research is a fitting word to apply to historical studies, for it implies that one is not content to skim over the surface of past events, but prefers to turn the soil for himself. (See page 43 of this volume.) Space will not permit even an abstract of Mr. Winsor's very suggestive account of "The Perils of Historical Study." The writer of the great "Narrative and Critical History of America" warned the Association that history must be continually rewritten, either from new developments or from new sources, which keep historical study fresh and perennial. Each generation must renew the discussion of historical events. Opinions change; and the history of opinion about facts is no small part of the history of those facts. Mr. Winsor's paper was discussed at some length by Judge Chamberlain, of Boston. The last paper of the session was by Worthington C. Ford, editor of the new edition of "Washington's Writings." Mr. Ford spoke of "The Government as a Guardian of American History." He condemned the past policy of the nation in allowing valuable historical papers to pass into private keeping rather than into our national archives. He criticised past and present methods of treating our State papers, and made a strong plea for a better system of government control in these matters.

Resolutions of thanks were passed by the Association for courtesies received from the regents of the Smithsonian Institution, the curators of the National Museum, the president of the Columbian University, the governors of the Cosmos Club, the Librarian of the State Department, Mr. and Mrs. Horatio King, and Mrs. Walworth, of Washington. A committee on the time and place of the next meeting reported through Dr. Poole in favor of Washington, and of meeting during the Christmas holidays, from the 28th to the 31st of December, 1890. In behalf of the committee on nominations, Judge Chamberlain recommended the following board of officers, which was unanimously elected: President, Hon. John Jay, New York City; first vice-president, Hon. William Wirt

Henry, Richmond, Va.; second vice-president, James B. Angell, LL. D., president University of Michigan; treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, New York; secretary, Dr. H. B. Adams, Johns Hopkins University; assistant secretary and curator (a newly-created office), A. Howard Clark, curator of the historical collections of the National Museum. Two new members were added to the executive council, namely Dr. G. Brown Goode, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in charge of the National Museum, and John George Bourinot, D. C. L., clerk of the Canadian House of Commons. The Executive Council already embraces the ex-presidents of the Association: Hon. Andrew D. White, LL. D., Hon. George Bancroft, LL. D., Justin Winsor, LL. D., William F. Poole, LL. D., and the following elected members: Prof. John W. Burgess, of Columbia College, and Prof. George P. Fisher, of Yale University. The treasurer's report, which was audited by Mr. John A. King and the Hon. John Jay, shows an increase of $1,116.02 since the last report, and total assets, including cash and investments, to the amount of $4,534.94. The Association has just completed the third volume of its published proceedings, of which there is a stock of handsomely bound volumes and some unbound reports in the hands of Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, the New York publishers. This property of books and plates is in addition to the above assets of the Association.

The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution have passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association be and hereby is permitted to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history, in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum in accordance with the provisions of the act of incorporation; and that the conditions of said deposit shall be determined by the secretary, with the approval of the executive committee.

RECENT HISTORICAL WORK IN THE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

Inaugural address of President CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D. *

During the last few years we have heard much of the tendency to give to all great and profound studies the historical form. The contributions of Darwin to natural history are, in a certain large sense, the result of a study of the history of nature carried on in a scientific spirit. Studies in machinery, in philosophy, in politics, in electricity even, are everywhere inclining to take on the same historical methods. In all branches of study it is apparently coming more and more to be seen that one's chances of discovering important new truth are quite exactly in proportion to one's knowledge of the truth that has already been discovered. So far as I remember, it was the French historian Thiers that first pointed out the significance of the historical spirit of the nineteenth century as distinguished from the speculative spirit of the eighteenth. This difference, indicated nearly half a century ago, is now very generally recognized and understood.

There is another fact, however, that is not less worthy of attention. I refer to the extraordinary development of studies in history in the colleges and universities of the world during the last few years. This development has amounted to a veritable revolution. Every American at all familiar with college life in this country knows that great advances have here been made; but a very brief presentation will be enough to show, I think, that even greater progress has been made in many of the countries of the Old World.

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* In the preparation of this address I have been placed under obligations by many persons for valuable information. I desire especially to express my thanks to Prof. H. B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, Prof. Paul Frédéricq, of the University of Liège, Prof. E. Levasseur, of Paris, Prof. Willard Fiske, and Professor Villari, of Florence.—C. K. A.

On this subject, as on many others, we are perhaps in some danger of confining our attention too closely to what is immediately about us. Our eyes are apt to rest with contentment on our material growth and our general financial prosperity; and while indulging in this contemplative satisfaction, it is quite possible that we shall fail to see the greater advances which, in certain directions, are being made in the Old World. It would probably be easy to show that notwithstanding all that spirit of enterprise of which we are justly proud as a national characteristic, there are many directions in which we have been far outstripped by what we have been accustomed to regard as the more sluggish peoples on the other side of the Atlantic. We are proud of the recent growth of some of our cities, as well as of some of our universities; but who can compare the municipal government of Berlin or Buda-Pest with that of New York or Chicago, or the educational enterprise of Paris or Strasburg or Zurich with that of the most vigorous of our own universities without a modest admission that, after all, we have vastly more to learn from them than they have to learn from us? And so perhaps it will be in regard to that branch of academic discipline which is of special interest to the American Historical Association. Be that as it may, I have thought that on this occasion it would not be inappropriate to call your attention to the great advances that have recently been made in the teaching of history in the colleges and universities of America and Europe.

In this presentation I shall purposely avoid limiting my inquiries to any specific number of years. The scope of the subject and the brevity of the hour compel me to deal sparingly with details and critical observations. My purpose will be satisfied if I succeed in pointing out the most important characteristics of this general advance. It will be convenient to look first at the teaching of history in the United States, and then at the teaching of history in Europe.

It was nearly two centuries after the founding of Harvard College before the study of history in that institution had any standing whatever. So far as we can judge from the meager information afforded, it was customary during the whole of that period to give an hour at 8 o'clock on Saturday morning to the hearing of compositions and declamations and to the reciting of history, ancient and modern. This bare statement is enough to show how impossible it was that the subject

should make any very considerable impression. It was not until 1839 that the study of history in any American college was first encouraged with the endowment of a special chair. To that chair, the McLean professorship of ancient and modern history at Harvard, Jared Sparks was called. At Baltimore, Professor Sparks had made the acquaintance of Marshall, Story, John Quincy Adams, and others, and was already known as a successful student and writer of American history. Mr. Sparks's work at Harvard, though not epoch making or even very progressive in its character, was an improvement on what had been done before. In 1840 he published his edition of Smith's lectures, and in the following year introduced the constitutional history of England. Though in that same year (1841) history and natural history were offered as elective studies, yet when Sparks became president of the college, in 1849, he attacked the elective system with so much vigor that no further advances could be made. This distinguished historian unquestionably gave an impulse to studies in American history, but he left the foundations and methods substantially as he had found them. Very few lectures on general history seem to have been given to relieve the aridity of Tytler, Keitley, and Schmidt, though some gain was experienced by the introduction of Sismondi and Smith. The small importance attached to this general work is shown in the fact that from 1853 to 1857 the entire field of history was intrusted to the instruction of a single tutor. Nor was there any very important change in method till after the accession of President Eliot in 1869. Up to 1870 Professor Torrey had for thirteen years done the entire work; but now it was a gain of great importance that ancient history was tranferred to Professor Gurney and mediæval and modern history to Prof. Henry Adams. This enlargement of the force not only enabled the professors to give fuller and better instruction, but, more important still, it made possible the introduction of new and improved methods. The work of Professor Adams was not distinguished by any innovating name; but the volume of essays on Anglo-Saxon law abundantly shows that the spirit of original investigation, not altogether unworthy of a German university, had at length taken root in American soil. And it is gratifying to note that the work so well begun in 1870 by Professor Adams has since that date been carried forward in a similar spirit. The historical staff now consists of seven professors and teachers. The number of

courses offered the past year was eighteen. There appears to be no very clearly defined seminary work, though connected with six of the courses opportunities are offered for something analogous to the methods of investigation that prevail in the seminaries of Germany and the *cours pratique* of France. It must be regarded as unfortunate that at Harvard, where so much excellent work appears to be done, no provision as yet has been made for the systematic publication of the results that are achieved. But it is no small triumph in behalf of historical studies, that within a single administration instruction in history has been brought at Harvard from its condition in 1869 to its condition at the present day.

Until within a very recent period the teaching of history at Yale was not very different from that which prevailed in the early days at Harvard. President Stiles taught a very little ecclesiastical history at the end of the last century, and Professor Kingsley imitated his modest example at the beginning of this. We find that in 1822, when the first course of studies was published, ancient history was taught in a way by means of the ancient historians, and by means of Adam's "Roman Antiquities" as a text-book. Tytler's "General History" was taught during one term of the junior year, and the first volume of Kent's "Commentaries" was this year introduced for two terms to the senior class. This course appears to have had little modification till the accession of President Woolsey in 1847.

Nor was the change during Woolsey's administration a very radical one. The introduction of political philosophy, of political science, and of international law was undoubtedly a very considerable advance. But these were not wholly within the domain of history. Graduates of Yale, not yet quite venerable, remember with little satisfaction the course of history which consisted chiefly of lessons learned *verbatim et literatim* from the dry pages of Pütz and Arnold. It was, as Prof. Herbert B. Adams has said, in revolt against this juiceless and utterly disheartening method of instruction, that Prof. Andrew D. White determined to make such a fresh and original departure in 1857 at the University of Michigan.

To the theological students at Yale, Prof. George P. Fisher began in 1861 to give scholarly instruction in Church history, and for many years Dr. Leonard Bacon lectured to theological students on the history of the churches in America. But it was not until Prof. A. M. Wheeler entered upon the duties of his chair in 1868 that the entire energies of

one professor were required for the teaching of history, and it was not until nine years later that Professor Wheeler was relieved of the American history. Even after Professor Dexter began his work the courses appear to have been very largely confined to such text-books as Eliot's "United States," Lodge's "American Colonies," Johnston's "American Politics," and Von Holst's "Constitutional History." Since 1887 Professor Dexter's work of instruction has been taken by Prof. George B. Adams. Besides a class in Roman history, taught by a tutor in Latin, eight courses of instruction of one, two, or three hours a week during the year are given by Professors Wheeler and Adams, and a two-year course on the constitutional and financial history of the United States is given by Professor Sumner. By Mr. Raynolds, an instructor, a course in comparative constitutional history is also now given. Two of these are for graduate students, and are conducted, more or less rigorously, in a manner to teach methods of original research.

At Columbia College nothing of importance was done till the advent of Professor Lieber, in 1857, as professor of history and political science. And I know of nothing that more vividly shows the conception of what in those days a professor was expected to do, than the formal requirements of the trustees in regard to this professorship. By special vote of the board, the following subjects were assigned to the newly elected professor: modern history, political science, international law, civil law, and common law. It ought not, perhaps, to be regarded as very singular that after Dr. Lieber had staggered under this load from 1857 to 1865, President Barnard should report to the trustees as he did when he said: "It is quite doubtful whether modern history, in the proper sense of the word, ought to occupy any considerable space in the teaching of our colleges. The subject," continued he, "is so vast, and practically so exhaustless, that the little which can be taught in the few hours of class instruction amounts to but a small remove from absolute ignorance." As the result of this suggestion, a committee was appointed "to consider the propriety of abolishing the professorship of history," and, in accordance with their report, the duties of the professorship were added to those of the professor of philosophy and English literature. Professor Lieber was transferred to the School of Law. It was not until after ten years that this singularly

unhappy policy was abandoned. But in 1876 the call of Prof. John W. Burgess from Amherst College was to open a new era.

The School of Political Science was opened in 1880, under a plan of organization which gave assurance of good results; and yet, if one may be permitted with some hesitation to express such an opinion, it would seem that the productive efficiency of the school had been not a little hindered by the amount of class-room work exacted of the professors and students. It may well be doubted whether, during the two years immediately before the candidate comes up for Ph. D., more than ten, or, at most, twelve, hours a week can profitably be passed in the lecture-room. In spite of Euclid, it is sometimes true that a part is greater than the whole. The best of historical instruction is such work of investigation as can be carried on under judicious and inspiring guidance; but such investigation can not be profitably made when the time and energies of the students are exhausted in the lecture-room. In this connection, moreover, it should not be forgotten that the Columbia School of Political Science is essentially what its name implies. During the three years of its course, the amount of history that finds a place in the curriculum is not very large.

It has been already stated that in 1857 Prof. Andrew D. White carried to the University of Michigan an enthusiasm, born of a reactionary spirit against what may be called the Pütz and Arnold methods that then prevailed at Yale. Professor White also carried to his work the added enthusiasm of a student who had just returned from three years of study in the universities of France and Germany. This beginning of new methods at Michigan was eleven years before Professor Wheeler began his work at Yale, and thirteen years before the appointment of Prof. Henry Adams at Harvard. And the inestimable service of Professor White during his five years at Michigan was the fact that at that early day, years before a similar impulse had been felt any where else in the country, the study of history was lifted to the very summit of prominence and influence among the studies of the college course. No one who was not on the spot can adequately realize the glow of enthusiasm with which this reaction was welcomed by the students of the university.

The work abandoned by Professor White, practically in 1863 and formally in 1867, was carried on by myself, his

successor, until 1885. Perhaps the most notable fact during that period was the introduction of the historical seminary in 1869. Observation in the seminaries of Leipzig and Berlin had convinced me that even advanced under-graduates could use the methods of the German seminary with great profit. My expectations were more than realized. At a little later period, a working library of nearly three thousand volumes was given by a friend of the department, and these books were made constantly accessible to students in the commodious seminary rooms of the new library building. Unfortunately there has been no publication fund by means of which papers of value could be given to the public. But the monographs of Professors Knight and Salmon, published by this Association in its first volume, are evidence of the quality of the work done. During the year 1888,–'89, the number of half-year courses given by Professors Hudson and McLaughlin was eleven, the equivalent of five full-year courses of lectures and one half-year seminary course.

Cornell University was opened for students in 1868. Professor White, in coming from Michigan to the presidency, no doubt brought all his old fire of enthusiasm for historical teaching. But his interests now had to be divided and subdivided between the necessities of the various departments of the new university. The teaching of history, therefore, had to be very largely done by Professor Russell. This was continued till 1881, when Prof. Moses Coit Tyler was called to the first professorship of American history established in the country. Prof. Herbert Tuttle, engaged at first for a part of the year only, was in 1887 gven a full chair of the history of political and municipal institutions and of international law. In 1888 Mr. George L. Burr, having previously acted as instructor, was placed as assistant professor in charge of the work in mediæval and modern history. Instruction in ancient history is given by Instructor Herbert E. Mills. During 1889–'90 eleven full-year courses are given, each extending throughout the year, besides a course in palæography given for one term by Professor Burr. Of these full-year courses, three are seminaries, devoted to methods of original research.

Johns Hopkins University, devoted as it has been from the first very largely to graduate work, has offered unusual facilities for advanced instruction. Studies in history early assumed

prominence. The plan of dividing the library into departmental sections and transferring the sections to the several departments, with some drawbacks, offered the unquestionable advantage of bringing the students into immediate daily contact with the great mass of literature with which they would have to deal. The graduate students of Johns Hopkins, therefore, are put into a kind of laboratory or workshop with all the working tools of the university immediately about them. And this may be said to be one of the two most prominent characteristics of the place. The other is the admirably developed system by means of which the world gets the benefit of whatever good thing is done. The staff of instruction is not large, four men doing both the graduate and under-graduate work. And yet so completely are the resources of the university at the service of the student, and so confident is the student that whatever good piece of work he may produce he will be able to place before the world in a manner to attract the attention it deserves, that the department of history, in spite of all rumored pecuniary distresses, has steadily grown until during the present year there are forty graduate students in history working with a view to the doctor's degree.

I have thus passed rapidly over the advances of historical studies in those American institutions of university grade where the largest amount of work has been done. It would be an act of great injustice not to say that in many of the other colleges and universities of the land important advances have also been made. In several of them work of great excellence is done. It is but just to say that the methods employed in the great mass of these institutions are very different from those in vogue twenty-five years ago. In several of them there are now professors of history who received their training in the best methods of the Old World. If the results of their instruction are not all that could be desired, the fault is in the plan of organization rather than in the methods of instruction.

That this brief review gives evidence of very considerable advancement can not be denied. We shall see, however, before the end of our survey, that when we compare ourselves with others, we have no occasion for historical vanity. But I can not turn from this part of my subject without indicating my judgment that the most important need of advanced historical instruction in this country at the present time is in each great educational center such a publication fund as will enable the

university to give to the world in academic form the results of thorough and advanced research. This is no doubt true in other fields as well as in history. But the technical journals afford an opportunity for the fruits of technical research, such as are not afforded to the historical student. The wisdom of such provisions at Johns Hopkins University has shown itself in growing measure with every advancing year. The proper methods of study are already flourishing with us, and the fruits of these labors, were the opportunity offered, would be forthcoming in measure to do credit to American scholarship.

Turning from America to Great Britain, we find in several of the universities almost absolutely no recognition of historical studies. History is still practically excluded from all the Scottish universities. At Aberdeen and St. Andrews it has not the slightest notice, and even at Edinburgh there is only a single course on constitutional history for students of law.

In England, however, great activity has recently come to be shown at the two great universities at Oxford and Cambridge. This activity is of surprisingly recent growth. With a view to educating public officials and diplomatists, a regius professorship was established at Cambridge by George I. with something of that scholastic liberality which was shown by the Georges in giving the great collection of historical books to the university library at Göttingen. The regius professorship of history at Cambridge, however, was practically a sinecure. Perhaps the most distinguished occupant of the chair during the first hundred years was the poet Gray. It was not till as late as 1869, when the position was taken by Prof. J. R. Seeley, that it became really important and began to exert an influence. But under the inspiration of this eminent writer and teacher, history forced itself into formal recognition as a discipline worthy of a place by the side of the classics and the mathematics.

After due consideration, a separate tripos was established for modern history. As in the triposes of the classics and the mathematics, three years are given to the course. In four of the seventeen colleges preparation was at once made for giving special lectures to prepare students for the university examinations. Such lectures are now given by Mr. Hammond at Trinity, Mr. Oscar Browning, and Mr. Prothero at Kings, Mr. Thornley at Trinity Hall, and Mr. Tanner at St. John's.

To an American student unaccustomed to English ways, such a bare statement of facts conveys little impression. But to understand the full significance of these lectureships, two or three conditions must be borne in mind. The English college is scarcely more than a place of residence, each student procuring such instruction as he may desire, and in any manner he may choose. At the end of the necessary period the examinations are conducted not by the colleges, but by the university. The student, therefore, is practically at entire liberty to pursue his studies in private. He may hear lectures regularly, or he may prepare himself for the examinations with the help of a private coach. What we understand as the work of instruction, therefore, plays a far less prominent part in the English universities than in our own. The work of examinations plays a far greater part. The requirements for final examinations are planned and carried out with a rigor that I suppose is absolutely unknown in any other country.

The subjects on which the examinations for a degree are to be held, though varied to meet the wants of individual classes of students, are still somewhat limited in scope. The following are stated as the general requirements: English history, including that of Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies and dependencies; certain indicated parts of ancient, mediæval, and modern history; the principles of political economy and the theory of law; English constitutional law and English constitutional history; public international law, in connection with detailed study of certain celebrated treaties; and, finally, a thesis written on some one of ten proposed subjects.

During the three years, special efforts are made to accomplish two results. These are: first, to secure a knowledge of a great body of accepted facts and truths; and, secondly, by earnest personal thought to acquire the habit of what may be called an historical judgment as to the real significance of facts and events. Toward these two ends all of the very inspiring lectures of Professor Seeley seem to be directed. The lectures of the tutors appear also to have the same end in view. Accordingly, the examination papers are invariably directed very largely to the work of testing the thinking powers of the student. That the test is one of great severity may be known by a single glance at one of the examination papers. The final trial continues for five days, six hours a day, three hours

in the forenoon and three in the afternoon. There are thus ten papers in ten successive half-days.*

The recent outcry in England against this system of examinations (which is carried into other subjects as well as into history) can hardly be considered as surprising. It may well be questioned whether an examination of this kind, put at the end of a three years' course of study, is not adapted on the one

* The following is inserted as a specimen of the examination papers set before candidates for the degree of A. B. in the history tripos:

1. "It is a fact that some men are free and others slaves: the slavery of the latter is useful and just" (Aristotle: "Politics," I., 15). "We hold this truth as self-evident: that all men are created equal" (Declaration of Independence of the United States). What arguments can you bring to support these two assertions? Show to what extent it is possible to reconcile them.

2. Show briefly the necessity and the nature of the reforms instituted by Justinian in his legislation.

3. The epoch of heroic kings is followed by the epoch of aristocracies (Maine). Prove this statement from Roman history and from the history of a nation of the west or north, showing the part played by these aristocracies in the development of laws.

4. Guizot considered feudalism a species of federal government; weigh the arguments in favor of this view, and compare feudalism with other ancient and modern confederations.

5. Consider the causes of the universal growth of towns during the twelfth century, and determine to what extent the revival of Roman institutions can be seen therein.

6. According to the principles of Austin, what are the limits of rights of subjects against their sovereign and of the sovereign against his subjects? Discuss the application of these principles to the struggles of James I. against Parliament.

7. Show that the following laws are not laws in the true sense of the word: Lynch law, canonical law, the law of cricket, and the law of supply and demand.

8. Show how the penal code has been from time to time adapted to occasion, and give examples borrowed from the history of the law of treason.

9. Show, with examples from history, what influence public opinion can have on government in countries that have neither democratic nor representative institutions.

10. Distinguish, by the aid of ancient and modern authors, between the different methods that can be applied to the study of politics, and compare their advantages.

11. What is the meaning of the terms "national will" and "national conscience," as differing from the wishes and opinions of the citizens? Show the importance of these terms in view of the development and rank of states.

12. Weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the different modes of electing executive power in democratic states.

hand to encourage, or at least to permit and condone, idleness during the first years of the course, and to break the health and the spirit of the student at the end.

It is noteworthy, also, that the tripos makes no provisions for what may be called original work. There is no seminary work to be compared with that done in Germany and France, even if there is any that will compare favorably with the best in the United States. But, on the other hand, it may fairly be doubted whether there is anywhere else in the world a system that secures so general a knowledge of what may be called the great body of the accepted facts of history, and so discriminating a judgment concerning their bearing and their significance. The mere list of standard authors, of which an historical student of Cambridge or Oxford is expected to become complete master, is vastly greater than the number required of students either in America or in continental Europe.

At Oxford the methods are not essentially different from those at Cambridge. The tripos in modern history was here established in 1870, five years before that provided for on the Cam. It has perhaps been even more successful. While at Cambridge there is now but one professor and five lecturers, at Oxford there are two professors and thirteen lecturers, and a programme of courses that reminds one of the array offered at one of the great universities in Germany. It is certain, however, that the instruction is more elementary in character. There are, moreover, no courses that as yet correspond in any very exact way with the German organizations for conducting original research, and the training of men in the art of historical investigation. But, when all such deductions are made, it can not be considered as less than remarkable that in the old university of Oxford, where, before 1870, there was no organized course of history whatever, the study has met with such favor that a staff of no less than fifteen professors and tutors is required to give the necessary instruction.

The subject ought not to be dismissed without the remark that within three or four years something akin to the German seminary has begun to secure a foothold. It is interesting also to note that this movement was the result of the efforts of an American student, the lamented Mr. Brearley, who went from one of the German universities to complete his studies at Oxford. But, as studies so conducted can not well be made subsidiary to the examinations, it is doubtful whether any very

considerable success is to be expected till the system of examinations is modified. It is chiefly for this reason that the experiment is likely to confine itself very largely to the holders of fellowships.

On turning to the continent of Europe one is embarrassed with the vastness of the subject, and the number of details that present themselves for consideration. It must suffice to give the briefest possible account of what is done in some of the smaller nationalities, and then a slightly fuller survey of recent advances in Germany and France.

At Leyden, Groningen, and Utrecht, the three state universities of Holland, the law requires that three branches of history shall be taught, namely: general history, national history, and ancient history, the latter including especially the history and antiquities of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. Although Leyden and Groningen have each two professors of history, and Utrecht one, still the work is carried on at great disadvantage, and is only elementary in character. At Amsterdam, which is not a state but a communal university, neither the arrangement nor the work is much better.

The peculiar organization of the Dutch universities has been unfavorable to historical progress. In these institutions five degrees of the rank of the doctorate are given, each one for a somewhat narrowly restricted course of study. These are: doctor of philosophy, doctor of classical literature, doctor of Netherlandish literature, doctor of German philology, and doctor of Semitic literature. In 1876 the universities unanimously asked for the establishment of the degree of doctor of historical literature. The request was denied; and this denial has generally been regarded as fatal to the advancement, in any large sense, of historical studies. In the state universities, therefore, history has a secondary place; and there is said to be no fit teaching, even for the training of teachers of history in the secondary schools. To this general weakness there is at Amsterdam one conspicuous exception. While here, as at the other universities, very little is done in the faculty of letters, in the faculty of theology a more generous course is provided for. Professor Moll has established what may, with some propriety, be called an historical school. The work is chiefly conducted as a seminary for the study of the ecclesiastical history of Holland. It is now undertaking to explore the religious life of Holland, from the advent of Christianity to the

present day. Excellent work is done, and good historical scholars have been trained. Unfortunately for the teaching of history, however, the pupils trained in this school are, for the most part, destined for the pulpit instead of the teacher's profession.

In Belgium somewhat more has been accomplished. Though the state has given little encouragement to the work, the universities have been fortunate in having a number of professors who, in spite of obstacles, were wise and zealous enough to organize and achieve considerable success. The universities of Belgium are four in number, two of them being state institutions, and two founded and supported by private enterprise. The state universities, those at Liège and Ghent, as well as the private institutions of the same general grade at Brussels and Louvain, have excluded all advanced studies in history from the courses leading to the doctorate. But, notwithstanding this fact, much has been done by the enterprise of some of the professors. Professor Borgnet, at Liège, was the pilot of this new work, though he was not able to conduct it very far. It was in 1852 that the normal school was detached from the university, or at least was made distinct from it, and was given an independent course, extending over three years. In the third of these years, a *cours pratique*, a kind of incipient seminary, was established. But secondary sources of information appear to have been the only ones much used. On the retirement of Professor Borgnet, in 1872, Professor Kurth undertook, with considerable success, to place the *cours pratique* on a footing more nearly analogous to that of the German seminary; and this was done amid great discouragements in the faculty of letters of the university itself. Professor Kurth had visited Leipzig, Berlin, and Bonn, in 1874, and had carefully observed German seminary methods. The result was a most creditable historical enterprise. In addition to his lectures, he organized a seminary, which consisted properly of a two years' course, involving a section of juniors and a section of seniors. The classes were small, but the work done appears to have been, if not of the highest order of excellence, at least of entire respectability as original investigation. The scope of the work was confined chiefly to a study of the middle ages, including the study of palæography and the use of such manuscripts as existed in the university library.

But the importance of Professor Kurth's work showed

itself quite as much in its influence upon others as in the positive results his pupils achieved. In 1877–'78 Professor Vanderkindere at Brussels organized a seminary on the German plan, and in 1879 a similar course was offered by Professor Philippson in the same university. This officer had already had important experience as professor at the university of Bonn, and his work at Brussels appears to have shown a high order of excellence from the very beginning. The first volume of the fruits of these studies in the seminaries of Vanderkindere and Philippson bears the imprint of 1889.

In 1880 Prof. Paul Frédéricq began his work at Liège, where he remained till 1884, when his activities were transferred to Ghent. In both of these universities his seminaries have been conducted quite in accordance with the best methods of France and Germany. The *Corpus Inquisitionis* issued in 1889, a volume of more than six hundred pages, royal octavo, is the published fruit of the profound investigations of his class in the history of the Inquisition in the Low Countries.

It is unnecessary to go into detail in regard to history in the Belgian universities, further than to say that in spite of all governmental discouragements progress has steadily been made. During the present year the seminaries for advanced historical work in Belgium are no less than nine in number—one at Louvain, two each at Brussels and Liège, and four at Ghent. In closing what I have to say in regard to Belgium, I take the liberty of quoting from a letter recently received from Professor Frédéricq, in which he says: "En dehors de l'Allemagne et de la France, il me semble incontestable que les nouvelles méthodes historiques ont fait le plus de progrès en Belgique."

It would probably be quite within bounds to say that no other country in the civilized world has made such remarkable advances in intellectual activity within the last twenty years as those which have been made in Italy. The unification of the state gave a great impulse to education in all its grades, as to everything else in the way of national progress. Exactly contemporaneous with the unification and the transfer of the seat of government from Florence to Rome, was the establishment of the "*Istituto degli Studi Superiori*," a kind of higher university for the training of university professors, analogous to the *École normale supérieure* of Paris. The eminent historian Villari was placed at the head of this new institute, and, taking graduates of the universities only as pupils,

it began at once to make its power felt in the teaching of history, perhaps even more than in any other way. Requisite brevity will compel me to do nothing more than simply to point out a few of the different ways in which historical work in the universities of Italy has recently been advanced.

(1) Through the very extensive new excavations and explorations carried on in all parts of Italy, and conducted with far greater care and with far more scientific knowledge than ever before. This work has been inspired, and to a very large extent even organized, by Comparetti, the founder and editor of the new Italian journal devoted to epigraphy, himself probably the first of epigraphists, not even excepting Mommsen. Lanciani at Rome and other explorers of kindred spirit at Pompeii and elsewhere are giving us ancient history in the light of recent and important discoveries.

(2) The substitution in the universities of the modern scientific for the old rhetorical methods of instruction. The changes include the introduction of the German seminary, in all but its name. Candidates for degrees are now required to write and defend not simply a thesis, but a memoir of scientific importance, involving the results of investigations in original sources. Among the professors who have done most to encourage work of this kind may be mentioned Villari of the Institute at Florence, De Leva of Padua, Cipolla of Turin, De Blasiis of Naples, and Falletti of Palermo.

(3) The study of the history of the romance languages. This work, carried on as it is in a truly scientific spirit, has already thrown much light on some obscure and difficult questions in the history of the middle ages. The first great inspirer of this new activity was Professor Caix, who, one of the first great products of the Institute, died at an early age, greatly lamented. But the work has been carried on by others, among whom the most conspicuous are perhaps Pio Rajna of the Institute, Ascoli of Milan, Rénier of Turin, D'Ovidio of Naples, and Monaci of Rome.

(4) The study of Italian literary history. This branch of the work is not indeed so new as the others, but it is carried on in a new spirit and is achieving new results. The names most worthy of mention are Graf of Turin, D'Ancona of Pisa, Zumbini of Naples, Carducci (the greatest of living Italian poets) at Bologna, and Bartoli of the Institute, the author of the best history of Italian literature.

(5) And, finally, the scientific study of the laws and institution of the middle ages. Devoted especially to this great work are: Schupfer of Rome, Del Vecchio of the Institute, Del Giudice of Pavia, Brondileone of Palermo, and Gaudenzi of Bologna.

This great recent work in Italy ought not to be dismissed without at least calling attention incidentally to the fact that no other nation has such immense archives, and that these are now rapidly becoming accessible to all historical research. Those of Venice and Florence have long been known to be extraordinary; but every province now seems to have its historical commission, and these are now pouring forth from the press a flood of documents of no small importance.

In turning from Italy to Germany we come upon ground that is more familiar to American scholars. But even at this great resort of American aspiration and ambition we should be able, if there were time, to discover many things that would be of interest and of profit.

The modern scientific study of history everywhere has a tap-root running down into philology. It was F. A. Wolf who, at Halle, in the last century, established the philological seminary. He is, I suppose, entitled to the credit of forming the conception of bringing his advanced pupils together for an informal discussion of their work, in order that he might point out to them, in the familiarity of friendly intercourse, the best methods of conducting philological research. To this new method of instruction, the word seminar, or to use the Latin form, *seminarium*, was given. It was the idea of Wolf that Ranke adopted, when in 1830 he called together a few of his most advanced pupils for the prosecution of historical instruction in a similar spirit. To the teaching of history, the event was the beginning of a new epoch. About the great master were gathered such men as Sybel, Droysen, Haüsser, Giesebrecht, Duncker, Ad. Schmidt, Wattenbach, and others, all of whose names have since become associated with works of the very first importance. And from that day till more than fifty years later, when the scepter fell from the dead hand of the great master, Germany could scarcely count a single historical teacher or even scholar of importance that had not been at least one semester under Ranke. It would be interesting to trace and to attempt to measure the influence and the power of this instruction on the development of the nation. How many thousands

of Germans now in places of official responsibility have had their ideas shaped by the instruction thus provided!

Perhaps I may be pardoned for relating an incident that occurred one day in the winter of 1868, at the close of an exercise in Droysen's seminary. The master said to me, as we were standing together on the steps of his house: "Three of us, as we left Ranke's seminary, had been impressed with the idea that public opinion was going all wrong on the subject of the nature and the influence of the French Revolution, and we determined to do what we could to change that opinion and set it right. The fruit of this purpose," continued he, "has been Häusser's 'History of Germany from the Death of Frederick the Great to the Congress of Vienna,' Sybel's 'History of the French Revolution,' and my own 'History of Prussian Politics.'" In connection with this striking saying of Droysen, it is interesting to note that this fundamental idea which was henceforth to permeate the instruction of these three great teachers has continued to be dominant in the leading chairs of historical instruction in Germany down to the present day. The ideas of v. Treitschke are sufficiently well known from his books. Those of Maurenbrecher were clearly enunciated in his inaugural address, in which he set forth the position that all true development in politics and national life must be an outgrowth of the past, must be strictly historical in its essential character; and consequently that revolution, which is a breaking away from the past, is unhistorical and never justifiable.* This statement in its completeness, however large a grain of truth it may have, seems about as defensible as would be the assertion that surgery is a direct and abnormal interference with the natural laws of physical development, and therefore is never to be resorted to. But no one can deny that such instruction has exerted prodigious power on the development of Germany and the formation of public opinion.

The seminary instituted by Ranke was the parent of a numerous progeny. Seminaries sprung up in all the universities, but for a little more than twenty-five years they were left

* Maurenbrecher's words were: "Nur aus dem Boden der Geschichte erwächst die wahre Lebenskraft des Staatsmannes. Nur diejenige Politik kann eine gute genannt werden, welche die historische Entwickelung einer bestimmten Nation fortzusetzen, an die historisch erwachsenen Elemente weiter anzuknüpfen sich entschliesst. Der Bruch mit der geschichtlichen Tradition eines Volkes, das eben ist die Revolution; Gutes kann aus der Revolution niemals erwachsen."—Maurenbrecher's "Antrittsrede," 1884, S. 16.

to individual support. It was to v. Sybel, at Munich, that the credit belonged of persuading the Bavarian government to give to the seminary an independent subsidy. The same method of support was transferred to Bonn by v. Sybel in 1861. The next step was by v. Noorden, who successively at Greifswald, Tübingen, Bonn, and Leipzig, showed such remarkable power as a teacher that he was able to induce the government in 1877 to set up the great seminary at Leipzig, and still further to enlarge and endow it in 1880.

As a means of showing the methods of seminary work, a few words in regard to the seminary rooms at Leipzig may not be out of place. They are five in number, grouped closely together, and filled with such books as are likely to be needed in the investigations. One of the rooms is devoted to ancient history, one to mediæval and modern history, one to a general library, one to an office, and one to a general working room. The rooms are all open from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m. The government subsidy and the special fees of students yield an annual income for the library of about $500. At the first meeting of all the sections of the seminary last year, fifty-six students were reported as present. They received a preliminary lecture on methods of work by Professor Maurenbrecher, who took as his text the instructions of Niebuhr: "Whatever you study, follow up your subject till no man on God's earth knows more about it than you do."

It ought, perhaps, to be added, that the State seminaries were severely attacked by Waitz in his remarkable address at the fifty years' jubilee in celebration of Ranke's inauguration. He said it was time to be severe, for subsidized seminaries tended to popularize the work, and he believed that mediocrity should be excluded from training for historical teachers. To which we are inclined to exclaim: Happy is that country, and that condition of education, in which too many are inclined to take instruction of the grade offered by the German seminaries! The system in its present form undoubtedly is not without its critics; but, after all due allowances are made, it would certainly not be too much to say, that at the present day there is no thoroughly good teaching of history anywhere in the world that is not founded on that careful, exact, and minute examination of sources which was originally instituted, and has ever since been encouraged, by the German seminary system.

It must suffice to add that in the German universities the number of courses of historical lectures varies from ten to twenty-five each semester, and that in each institution the number of seminaries varies from three to seven. For the work of preparation for a career as an historical teacher even in one of the secondary schools, not less than three or four years of successful study in the university is requisite. As there is more historical instruction in the German gymnasium than in our ordinary collegiate course, the training thus acquired at the university is more than equivalent to three years of graduate work in the American sense of the term.

It has not been without purpose that the subject of recent historical work in France has been reserved for the last of what I fear has been a very tedious review. For it is in France, as it seems to me, that greater progress has been made recently in historical work than in any other nation. I refer not simply to the number of courses given, though in this regard the number offered annually at Paris is about twice the number offered at Berlin. I have in mind rather the organization and methods of instruction in the great schools for the training of historical writers and teachers. That they are superior to any thing now existing even in Germany, I think even a brief examination will be enough to show.

The first of the Parisian schools entitled to mention is the *École des Chartres*. In 1807 Napoleon dictated a note embodying his idea of a national school of history. But the project did not take form till 1821, and had but a feeble existence before 1847. After that time, however, it assumed increasing importance under the brilliant direction and service of M. Jules Quicherat, who continued to give it the inspiration of his ability till his death in 1882.

The purpose of the school was to train young scholars of exceptional promise in the sources of French history, and in the proper methods of using these sources. Epigraphy, palæography, archæology, the Romance languages, bibliography, the French archives, the classification of libraries, the history of political institutions, the history of administrative, judicial, civil, and canonical administration, these are the subjects to which attention is especially devoted. The mere list is enough to show that the object is not so much to teach history as to supplement the historical instruction that the stu-

dents may have elsewhere enjoyed. The object of the school is not only to make known the riches of the French archives, but also to give the greatest possible facility in the best methods of using them. Pupils, to be admitted, must be at least twenty-five years of age, must have taken the baccalaureate degree, and must have already devoted themselves for years to historical work. But twenty students a year are admitted, the course extending over three years. By such men as Quicherat, Himly, Paul Meyer, Léon Gautier, and others, a very large number of the professors in the *Collège de France* and in the other schools have received a most excellent training. The testimony is uniform that the instruction in the *École des Chartres* is most thoroughly scientific and complete. So far as I am aware, Germany possesses nothing analogous to it, unless an exception be made of the new school in Austria, and that was avowedly modeled after the French prototype and put under the direction of Théodore Sickel, a pupil trained in the French school.

The second of the great Parisian schools to be mentioned is the *École normale supérieure.* This celebrated school was founded as a kind of higher university for the special and final training of university graduates desiring to become university professors. Founded at the beginning of the century, it was improved by Cousin in 1830, and still further by Cousin's successors after the events of 1848. Under the guidance of Bersot, and still later under that of Fustel de Coulanges, work of the first importance has been accomplished. The quality of students may be inferred from the fact that the applicants must all have taken the bachelor's degree, that the number annually applying for admission is about two hundred, from whom often not more than the best twenty-five are selected. The maximum number in all the classes is one hundred and thirty-five. These, like our students at West Point, are for the most part supported by the government and are held to rigid requirements. Housed in dormitories, the students are bound by rules which condescend to such details as to require that no one shall leave the yard except "at certain hours on Sunday and Tuesday," and "once a month till midnight." Half the students are trained in science, and half in letters. Of the latter class a fair proportion are fitted to become teachers and professors of history. During the third year, students are permitted, under strict regulations, to

hear lectures in the *École des Chartres*, and in the *École pratique* still to be mentioned. After the second year, the students are required, in addition to their regular work, to devote themselves in the most serious manner to some work of earnest investigation. Many of the fruits of these studies have appeared from time to time in the pages of the *Revue Historique.*

From what has been said, it will readily be inferred that the competition for admission is such that it is easy to maintain a high standard of scholarship. It is not too much to say that the school is exerting a vast influence on the rising generation of historical workers and teachers throughout France.

The third and last of the French schools entitled here to be especially named is the *École pratique des hautes Études.* This institution was the most important fruit of the scholarly activity of Victor Duruy, who in various ways did so much for historical teaching in France. It was in 1868 that, as minister of public instruction, he reported to the emperor that the lectures at the *Collège de France* were given to a promiscuous crowd of all classes and ages, as well as of both sexes; that these lectures made very little permanent impression, and that something should be done to teach such methods as those that had been instituted by the great scholars of Germany. Perhaps the most important merit of Duruy's scheme was that it was a carefully devised plan to break up the notion that there could be such a thing as historical education from the mere hearing of lectures. It was the formal establishment in France of the library, or laboratory method of investigation, as applied to history. But this intelligent minister did not go about his work blindly. The ambassadors, ministers, and consuls were directed by the French government to examine and report upon the methods of other countries, especially upon those of Germany. Some of the reports were of remarkable merit. They revealed at once the necessities of the situation, and the difficulties that would confront an effort to graft the new order upon the old stock. Duruy had the very common experience of finding at the university an imperturbable conservatism. The old professors resisted his efforts at every point. He found it impossible either to convince them or to move them. Finally he determined to flank them, and this he did by establishing a new school, *L'École pratique des hautes Études.* The new school was founded by imperial decree, July 31, 1868, and

his purpose was declared to be the bringing together not simply of auditors but of pupils—*élèves*. The librarian of the Sorbonne, M. Léon Rénier, was put in charge. Associated with him were Waddington, an old student of Oxford, and subsequently minister of public instruction; Michel Bréal, who had drawn up an admirable report on the methods in Germany; and Alfred Maury, director of the national archives. To the amazement of everybody, Duruy appointed young men, for the most part unknown, in regard to whose ability he had extraordinary sagacity. One of the most noteworthy of these was Gabriel Monod, who at once instituted a seminary of the most approved German thoroughness, and a little later founded the *Revue Historique* as an organ of expression of this new historical school. During the first year they had but six pupils; but so excellent were their methods, so energetic were their labors, and so admirable were their fruits, that in 1889, twenty-one years after the founding of the school, there have come to be some thirty professors, giving in the most approved and scientific manner scarcely less than a hundred different courses, in which the students are required to carry on their work by means of personal investigation. Of the admirable character of the results accomplished by this group of young French historical scholars, the most abundant evidence is furnished by the pages of the *Revue Historique*.

But recent and special activity in historical work is not confined to the new schools. It is manifest everywhere in preponderating influence. Of the thirty-eight professors in the *Faculté des Lettres* at Paris, ten are professors of history, and two are professors of geography. Under the Second Empire the whole number was only three. A kindred impulse has also been felt in the provinces. The city of Paris has founded a chair for the special study of the history of the French Revolution. A similar chair has been founded at Lyons. Bordeaux has established a chair for the study of the history of southern France. In the *École libre des Sciences politiques*, founded by M. Boutmy in 1872, much work in the history of political institutions is also done. The French schools at Athens and Rome are doing much in archæology. And so in every quarter and at every point, France seems to be fully alive to the fact that it is in the study of history that the present needs of the nation are to be advantageously and abundantly supplied.

In the presence of such achievements, American scholarship finds far more encouragement for its modesty than for its pride.

Why may not a school, with some such methods and purposes as those established at Paris, be established in the United States? Shall it be in Washington, or in New York, or at Harvard, or at Yale, or at Johns Hopkins, or at Cornell, or at some other educational center in the nation?

It is not exhilarating to our patriotism to reflect that until some such facilities are afforded on this side of the Atlantic, large numbers, not only of the brightest but also of the wisest of our youth, will annually flock to the better opportunities provided by the institutions of the Old World.

THE SPIRIT OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.*

By JAMES SCHOULER.

What, let us ask, is history? And by what image may we present to the mind of the student a proper conception of that department of study? Emerson, our American Plato, pictures as a vast sea the universal mind to which all other minds have access. "Of the works of this mind," he adds, "history is the record." That idea is a leading one of this philosopher. Man he considers the encyclopædia, the epitome of facts; the thought, he observes, is always prior to the fact, and is wrought out in human action.

Such a conception may suit the philosophic mind; it may commend itself to men of thought, as contrasted with men of action. But it seems to me too vast if not too vague a definition for an appropriate basis to historical investigation. No one can project history upon such a plan, except man's Maker, the Universal Mind itself. Thought itself may precede the fact, but the two do not coincide nor form a perfect sequence. The empire of thought differs greatly from that of personal action; we each live but one life, while we may propose a hundred. The works of the mind involve all knowledge, all reasoning, all experience. Nor can we with accuracy picture the human mind as a tranquil sea tossing only in its own agitations, but rather as an onward force working through strong physical barriers. History, in truth, is the record of human thought in active motion, of thought which is wrought out into action, of events in their real and recorded sequence. The individual acts upon his external surroundings; those surroundings react upon him and upon his fellows. Men, tribes, nations, thus acting, mold one another's career and are molded in return.

* Read before the American Historical Association, at Washington, December 31, 1889.

History leaves the whole boundless empire of unfettered mental philosophy, of fiction, of imagination. It deals with facts; it notes and narrates what has actually transpired and by whose agency; and it draws where it may the moral. History, in short, is the record of consecutive events—of consecutive public events.

This broad truth should be kept in view, that the human mind (under which term we comprise volition, and not the intellectual process alone), that the individual character acts upon the circumstances surrounding it, upon external nature, upon external fellow-beings. These persons and things external not only modify and influence one's attempted action, but modify his thought and feeling; they react upon him, form and influence his character, his destiny. This makes human history, and it makes the forecast of that history forever uncertain.

The picture, then, that we should prefer to present to the imagination is not of one vast universal mind, calmly germinating, fermenting, conceiving; not of one mind at equilibrium, having various inlets—but of a torrent in motion. They did wisely and naturally who mapped out for us a stream of history flowing onward, and widening and branching in its flow. Downward and onward, this impetuous torrent of human life obeys its own law of gravitation. It advances like a river, with its feeders or its deltas; or like the march of an immense army, now re-enforced, now dividing into columns, now reuniting,—but going forever on and never backward. Let us reject, therefore, the idea of an *à priori* history and whatever conception conjures up a human mind planning history in advance and then executing it. Buckle was oppressed to death by the burden of such an idea as that of reducing the whole history of this world's civilization to a law of natural selection. There is no rigid scientific development to the human race. The particle of divine essence which is in man formulates, creates, compels to its will, changes because of its desire for change; though, after all, it bends to the laws of natural necessity. The man of genius may invent; he may construct a wonderful motive engine which propels by steam or electricity; yet he may be battered to pieces by this same machine, if ignorant or careless of some latent physical cause. We speak, too, of prophecy; but prophecy is vague. "Westward," says Bishop Berkeley, "the course of empire takes its way;" and he looked through the

vista of a century. But who, of all our statesmen and philanthropists who flourished forty years ago—and wise and great, indeed, were many of them—foretold with accuracy how and through what agencies the problem of American slavery, which they so earnestly discussed, would reach its historical solution?

To take, then, our simile of the onward torrent from distant sources, or the army advancing from afar: Observe how absorbed was ancient history with the larger streams fed by hidden fountains; how its narrative was confined to the great leaders of thousands and tens of thousands. But in modern history each individual has his relative place; and looking as through a microscope we see an intricate network of rills from which the full stream is supplied. In this consists the difference between ancient and modern life, ancient and modern history. Simplicity is the characteristic of the primitive age; complexity is that of our present civilized and widely multiplied society. The ancient force was the force of the pre eminent leader—of the king, the warrior-chief; but the modern force is that rather of combined mankind—of the majority. Individuals were formerly absorbed under the domination of a single controlling will, but now they are blended or subdued by the co-operation of wills, among which the greatest or the pre-eminent is hard to discover. The course of history all the while is consecutive, knowing no cessation. There is a present, a past, and a future; but the present soon becomes the past, the future takes its turn as the present. And, after all, the only clear law of history is that of motion incessantly onward.

As students of history we seek next a subject and a point of view. Look, then, upon this vast chart of the world's progress. Retrace its course, if you will, and choose where you shall explore. Do not choose at random, but with this great universal record to guide you as a chart; as a chart capable, indeed, of correction, but in the main correct enough to serve the navigator. Having thus chosen, circumscribe your work; confine your exploration to a particular country, to a particular period, say of twenty, thirty, or a hundred years; let your scrutiny be close, and discover what you may to render the great chart fuller and more accurate than hitherto. If universal history be your subject, you will not go far beyond tracing the bold headlands, while on the other hand, with a small compass of work, you may contribute much information of genuine value to your age. Explore from some starting point; you can de-

scend upon it like a hawk. You may require some time to study its vicinity, to look back and consider what brought the stream to this point. But your main investigation will be not by exploring to a source, but by following the stream in its onward and downward current. In the present age one must be ignorant of much if he would be proficient in something.

Our chart of history opens like an atlas; it presents page after page of equal size, but with a lessening area for the sake of an increasing scale. One page exhibits a hemisphere, another a continent, another a nation; others, in turn, the state, the county, the municipal unit. From a world we may thus reduce the focus, until we have mapped within the same spaces a town or city, or even a single house; from a population of millions we may come down to a tribe, a family, or even (as in a biography) to a single individual, and we retrace the human course accordingly. Or we may trace backwards, as the genealogist does, in an order reverse to biography or general history. As we have projected, so we work, we investigate. In such an atlas as I am describing, how different appear both civil and physical configurations at different epochs. Compare, for instance, a map of the United States of our latest date with earlier ones in succession from 1787. Not only in national names and boundaries do they differ, not only in the obscure or erroneous delineation of lakes and rivers in unexplored regions, but in that dotting of towns and cities, that marking of county divisions, which positively indicates the advance of a settled population and settled State governments. Maps of different epochs like these, where they exist, are part of a permanent historical record.

Involved in the study of any civilization is the study of its religion, of its literature, of its political and military movements, of the appliances of science, of the changes and development of trade, commerce, and industries. Each of these influences may be traced apart, or their combined influence may be shown upon the course of some great people. In this present enlightened age, nations intersect one another more and more in their interests, and you may feel the pulse of the whole civilized world through the daily press. How different the task of preparing such a history as the nineteenth century requires, from that of ancient Athens, of China, of mediæval Britain, of early America. But in all tasks unity and selection should be the aim, and above all circumscription. One

must measure out his work with exactness, make careful estimates, and work the huge materials into place, besides using his pencil with the dignity and grace of an artist. In a word, he should be an architect. It is because of this union of the ideal and practical that Michael Angelo deserves the first place among men distinguished in the fine arts. And for this reason, too, we may well rank Gibbon as the foremost among historians; as greater, indeed, than Thucydides, Sallust, or any other of those classical writers who have so long been held up for modern reverence. And this is because, with skill equally or nearly as great as theirs, he conceived and wrought out a task far more difficult. In historical narrative the greatest triumph consists in tracing out and delineating with color and accuracy a variety of intricate influences which contribute to the main result. And who has done this so well as the author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," that greatest of all historical themes, that most impressive and momentous of all human events? See the hand of the master unfolding the long train of emperors and potentates; painting the revolt and irruption of distant nations, of remote tribes; gathering upon his canvas the Greeks, the Scythians, the Arabs, Mohammed and his followers, the fathers of the Christian Church, the Goths and northern barbarians who were destined to shape the civilization of modern Europe; leading his readers with stately tread through the whole grand pathway down which the highest type of a pagan civilization sank slowly into the shades and dissolution of the dark ages. I will not deny that Gibbon had faults as a historian; that his stately pomp might become wearisome, that he partook somewhat of the French sensuousness and skepticism which surrounded him as he labored. But of his profound scholarship and artistic skill there can be no question. Contrast with a task like his the simple narrative of some brief strife under a few heroes or a single one—like the history of the Peloponnesian or Jugurthine war, or like that of the Cortes invasion of Mexico which our own Prescott has so admirably described—and see how immense is the difference. Yet I would not be understood to disparage these other writers with simpler subjects. They have instructed and interested posterity and their own times; their fame is deservedly lasting; there is room in historical literature for them and for all. And our Anglo-Saxon appears to be. of all historical explorers, the best adapted to portray the man-

ners and events of foreign nations and distant times. Thucydides and Xenophon wrote each of his own country alone; and so did Sallust, Livy, Tacitus. But Gibbon perfected himself in a foreign literature and tongue so as to write of other lands; and so, too, did our Prescott and Motley.

Here let us observe how much easier it is to be graphic, to interest and attract the reader, when one's story has simple unity and relates to personal exploit. Biography, or the study of individual leaders, is at the foundation of the narratives which are most widely read and most popular; in the Bible, for instance, in Homer, in the wars of Alexander, Cæsar, or Napoleon. Biography excites interest because it develops, as in the reader's own experience, the growth of a certain individual life to which all other lives bear but an incidental relation; and for this reason, too, biography is partial. The modern temperament, however, leads us to investigate, besides, the growth of the people who were ruled, the development of their laws, manners, customs, and institutions. In either case the interest that moves the reader is human. That military and political course of a community with which history is chiefly engrossed moves far differently, to be sure, under an absolute monarch than in a democracy; in the former case foibles and caprice are those of a person, in the latter they are those of a whole people. Yet we observe in all but the ruder ages of mankind the refining influence upon rulers which is exerted by philosophy, by religion, literature and the arts. Note this, for example, under the reign of Solomon, of Pericles, of Alexander, of Constantine; and yet it is a lasting regret to posterity that out of epochs like theirs so little is left on record concerning the daily lives and habits of the people they governed. That must be a rigid tyranny, indeed, whose government has not recognized to some extent the strong though insensible force of popular customs. Custom constantly crystallizes into laws, which the legislature, the court, or the monarch stamps with authority; and thus are local institutions pruned and trained like the grape-vine on a trellis. We find in the most primitive society wills and the transmission of property recognized; buying and selling; trade and commerce (whence come revenue and personal prosperity); marriage and the seclusion, greater or less, of the family circle. How seldom has the reader associated all these with the wealth of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, with the vicissitudes of Crœsus, the volup-

tuous pleasures of Xerxes, Cleopatra, or the later Cæsars; and yet it is certain that unless the subjects of monarchs like these had pursued their private business successfully, amassed fortunes of their own, brought up families, and increased in numbers, the monarch could not have been arrayed with such luxury; for royal revenues come from taxation, and the richest kings and nobles take but a percentage from the general wealth. The customs of one nation are borrowed by others; Moses, Lycurgus, Solon, among the great lawgivers, framed codes each for his own people after observing the institutions of other and older countries, and considering how best to adapt them. Government has rightly been likened to a coat which is cut differently to fit each figure, each nation; and, more than this, the garb itself may differ in pattern, since the object is to clothe different communities appropriately to the tastes and habits of each. We shall continue to regret, then, that the ancient writers have left us so little real illustration concerning the habits of these earlier peoples—how they worked and sported, and what was their intercourse and mode of life. Research in archæology may yet supply such information in a measure; and of the institutions, the embodied customs, we have, fortunately, some important remains. No contribution survives, more valuable to this end, than the books of Roman jurisprudence which were compiled under Justinian. Though one of the lesser rulers of that once illustrious empire, he has left a fame for modern times more conspicuous than that of Julius or Augustus Cæsar; and this is because he brought into permanent and enduring form for the guidance and instruction of all succeeding ages the wisest laws, the best epitome of human experience, the broadest embodiment of customs, which ever regulated ancient society in the mutual dealings of man and man.

As for the progress of our modern society which emerges from the mediæval age succeeding the Roman collapse, its advance in knowledge and the arts, in the successive changes of manners and pursuits, there is much yet to be gathered and exposed to view for illustration; though with respect to England we owe much to Macaulay for setting an example of investigation upon that broader line which Niebuhr and others of his school had initiated for Roman history. And Macaulay achieved the additional triumph of making such investigation attractive. Statutes and judicial reports (to quote Daniel Webster) are overflowing fountains of knowledge respecting

the progress of Anglo-Saxon society, from feudalism down to the full splendor of the commercial age. And from the modern invention of printing, let us add, and particularly since the growth and development of the modern press, we find (with all the faults of fecundity and fallibility which are peculiar to journalism) a picture of the world's daily life set forth which far surpasses in its vivid and continuous delineation any collection of ancient records. Our modern newspaper may pander for the sake of gain; it may avow no higher aim in affairs than to please a paying constituency; and yet, for better or worse, it wields and will continue to wield an immense power. The reporter may be brazen-faced, inclined to scandalous gossip and ribaldry; the news may be spread forth disjointed, founded on false rumor, requiring correction; editorial comments may be willfully partisan, or thundered from the Olympus height of a safe circulation; but, even at its worst, so long as it is duly curbed by the laws of libel so essential for the citizen's protection, what with advertisements, business news, the discussion of current topics, the description of passing events and the transient impression made by them, our newspaper holds the mirror up to modern society; while at its best, journalism sits in her chariot, pencil in hand, like that marble muse herself in our national capitol, over the timepiece of the age. The newspaper's truest revelation is that unconscious one of the passions and prejudice of the times, and of that cast of popular thought under which events were born; it preserves imperishable the fashion prevailing, for posterity to look upon with reverence or a smile. But in the present age the journalist should beware how he presents his columns to bear the double weight of universal advertiser and universal purveyor of knowledge, lest he make a chaos of the whole. As in the former centuries records were scanty, so in the century to come they will be found superabundant, unless fire or deluge diminish them. Pregnant facts, such as in the past we search for in vain, lie buried under prevalent methods, in bushel-heaps of worthless assertion. To know the old era, you must search with a lantern; to know the new era, you must winnow.

Research is a fitting word to apply in historical studies; for by this word we import that one is not content to skim the surface of past events, but prefers to probe, to investigate, to turn the soil for himself. It is original exploration which makes such studies attractive and stimulating. We walk the

streets of buried cities and roam through the deserted houses, once instinct with life, piercing the lava-crust of careless centuries; we place our hearts and minds, richer by accumulated experience, close to the passions and intellects of an earlier age; and we listen to the heart beat of a race of mankind who reached forward, as our own race is reaching and as all races reach in turn, to catch the omens of a far-off destiny. The grand results and the grand lessons of human life are ours in the retrospect, and in the retrospect alone. And while retracing thus the foot-prints of the past, we shall do well if we deduce the right moral; if we judge of human actions dispassionately and as befits scholars of riper times and a broader revelation; if we keep under due constraint that laudable but dangerous passion for new discovery, so as neither to revive buried calumnies nor to weigh evidence with a perverted bias to novelty. Let our judgment give full force to the presumption that the long-settled opinion is the true one, and let our spirit of research be imbued at all times with the fearless purpose to know and to promulgate the truth.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.*

By G. BROWN GOODE, Ph.D., LL.D., Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in charge of the U. S. National Museum.

"Early in the seventeenth century," we are told, "the great Mr. Boyle, Bishop Wilkins, and several other learned men, proposed to leave England and establish a society for promoting knowledge in the new Colony [of Connecticut], of which Mr. Winthrop,† their intimate friend and associate, was appointed Governor."

"Such men," wrote the historian, "were too valuable to lose from Great Britain, and Charles the Second having taken them under his protection in 1661, the society was there established, and received the title of 'The Royal Society of London.'"‡

For more than a hundred years this society was for our country what it still is for the British colonies throughout the world—a central and national scientific organization. All Americans eminent in science were on its list of Fellows, among them Cotton Mather, the three Winthrops, Bowdoin, and Paul Dudley in New England; Franklin, Rittenhouse, and Morgan in Pennsylvania; Banister, Clayton, Mitchell, and Byrd in Virginia, and Garden and Williamson in the Carolinas, while in its "Philosophical Transactions" were published the only records of American research.§

* Revised and corrected to July 15, 1890.

† John Winthrop, F. R. S. [1606–'76], elected Governor of Connecticut in 1657.

‡ Eliot, John, Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Characters in New England. Salem, 1809.

§ The first meetings of the body of men afterwards organized as the Royal Society appear to have taken place during the Revolution and in the time of Cromwell, and as early as 1645, we are told by Wallace, weekly meetings were held of "diverse worthy persons inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning, and particularly of what has been called the *New Philosophy*, or *Experimental Philosophy*," and it is more than

It was not until long after the middle of the last century that any scientific society was permanently established in North America, although serious but fruitless efforts were made in this direction as early as 1743, when Benjamin Franklin issued his circular entitled "A proposal for promoting useful knowledge among the British plantations in America," in which it was urged "that a society should be formed of *virtuosi* or ingenious men residing in the several colonies, to be called the American Philosophical Society."

There is still in existence, in the possession of the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, a most interesting letter from Franklin to Governor Cadwallader Colden of New York, in which he tells of the steps which had already been taken for the formation of a scientific society in Philadelphia, and of the means by which he hoped to make it of great importance to the colonies.

Our forefathers were not yet prepared for the society, nor for the "American Philosophical Miscellany" which Franklin proposed to issue, either monthly or quarterly. There is no reason to believe that the society ever did anything of importance. Franklin's own attention was soon directed exclusively to his electrical researches, and his society languished and died.

Some twenty years later, in 1766, a new organization was attempted under the title of "The American Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge."* Franklin, although absent in England, was elected its President, and the association entered upon a very promising career.

In the meantime the few surviving members of the first "American Philosophical Society" formed, under the old name, an organization which in many particulars was so unlike that

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probable that this assembly of philosophers was identical with the "Invisible College" of which Boyle spoke in sundry letters written in 1646 and 1647. These meetings continued to be held, sometimes at the Bull-Head Tavern, in Cheapside, but more frequently at Gresham College, until 1660, when the first record book of this society was opened. Among the first entries is a reference to a design then entertained "of founding a College for the promoting of Physico-Mathematicall Experimentall Learning." Dr. Wilkins was appointed chairman of the society, and shortly after, the king, Charles II, having become a member, its regular meeting place was appointed to be in Gresham College.

* This name was adopted in 1768 to replace that first adopted in 1766, which was "The American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge, held in Philadelphia."

proposed in 1743 that it might almost be regarded as new rather than a revival. Its membership included many of the most influential and wealthy colonists, and the spirited manner in which it organized a plan for the observation of the transit of Venus in 1769 gave it at once a respectable standing at home and abroad.

In 1769, after negotiations which occupied nearly a year, the two societies were united* and "The American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge," has from that time until now, maintained an honorable position among the scientific organizations of the world.

The society at once began the publication of a volume of memoirs, which appeared in 1771 under the name of "The American Philosophical Transactions."†

From 1773 to 1779 its operations were often interrupted. In the minutes of the meeting for December, 1774, appears the following remarkable note in the handwriting of Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the secretaries, soon after to be one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence:

The act of the British Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, for altering the charters and for the more impartial administration of justice in the province of Massachusetts Bay, together with a bill for establishing popery and arbitrary power in Quebec, having alarmed the whole of the American colony, the members of the American Philosophical Society par-

*Some insight into the scientific politics of the time may be gained by reading the following extract from a letter addressed to Franklin by Dr. Thomas Bond, June 7, 1769: "I long meditated a revival of our American Philosophical Society, and at length thought I saw my way clear in doing it, but the old party leaven split us for a time. We are now united, and with your presence may make a figure; but till that happy event I fear much will not be done. The assembly have countenanced and encouraged us generously and kindly, and we are much obliged to you for your care in procuring the telescope, which was used in the late observations of the transit of Venus."

†A copy of the finished volume of the Transactions was presented to each member of the Pennsylvania assembly, accompanied by an address as follows: "As the various societies which have of late years been instituted in Europe have confessedly contributed much to the more general propagation of knowledge and useful arts, it is hoped it will give satisfaction to the members of the honorable House to find that the Province which they represent can boast of the first society and the first publication of a volume of Transactions for the advancement of the useful knowledge of this side of the Atlantic; a volume which is wholly American in composition, printing, and paper, and which, we flatter ourselves, may not be thought altogether unworthy of the attention of men of letters in the most improved parts of the world."

taking with their countrymen in the distress and labours brought upon their country, were obliged to discontinue their meetings for some months until a mode of opposition to the said acts of Parliament was established, which we hope may restore the former harmony and maintain a perpetual union between Great Britain and the Americas.

This entry is especially interesting, because it emphasizes the fact that among the members of this infant scientific society were many of the men who were most active in the organization of the Republic, and who, under the stress of the times, abandoned the quiet pursuits of science, and devoted themselves to the national interests which were just coming into being.

Franklin was president from its organization until his death in 1790. He was at the same time president of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and a member of the Constitutional Convention, and the eminence of its leader probably secured for the body greater prestige than would otherwise have been attainable. The society, in fact, soon assumed national importance, for, during the last decade of the century and for many years after, Philadelphia was the metropolis of American science and literature.

Directly after the Revolution, a similar institution was established in Boston,—the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which was incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1780, and published its first memoirs in 1785. This, like the Philadelphia society, owed its origin to the efforts of a great statesman. We find the whole history in the memoirs of John Adams, a man who believed, with Washington, that scientific institutions are the best and most lasting protection of a popular government.

In a memorandum written in 1809, Mr. Adams gave his recollections of the circumstances which led to his deep and lasting interest in scientific foundations.

In traveling from Boston to Philadelphia. in 1774–'75–'76–'77, I had several times amused myself at Norwalk, in Connecticut, with the very curious collection of birds and insects of American production made by Mr. Arnold;* a collection which he afterwards sold to Governor Tryon, who sold it to Sir Ashton Lever, in whose apartments in London I afterwards viewed it again. This collection was so singular a thing that it made a deep impression upon me, and I could not but consider it a reproach to my country, that so little was known, even to herself, of her natural history.

* Some local antiquary may make an interesting contribution to the literature of American museum work by looking up the history of this collection.

When I was in Europe, in the years 1778–'79 in the commission to the King of France, with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Arthur Lee, I had opportunities to see the King's collection and many others, which increased my wishes that nature might be examined and studied in my own country, as it was in others.

In France, among the Academicians and other men of science and letters, I was frequently entertained, with inquiries concerning the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and with eulogiums on the wisdom of that institution, and encomiums on some publications in their Transactions. These conversations suggested to me the idea of such an establishment in Boston, where I knew there was as much love of science, and as many gentlemen who were capable of pursuing it, as in any other city of its size.

In 1779, I returned to Boston on the French frigate *La Sensible*, with the Chevalier de la Luzerne and M. Marbois.* The corporation of Harvard College gave a public dinner in honor of the French ambassador and his suite, and did me the honor of an invitation to dine with them. At table in the Philosophy Chamber, I chanced to sit next to Dr. Cooper.† I entertained him during the whole of the time we were together, with an account of Arnold's collections, the collection I had seen in Europe, the compliments I had heard in France upon the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and concluded with proposing that the future legislature of Massachusetts should institute an Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The doctor at first hesitated; thought it would be difficult to find members who would attend to it; but the principal objection was, that it would injure Harvard College by setting up a rival to it that might draw the attention and affections of the public in some degree from it. To this I answered,—first, that there were certainly men of learning enough that might compose a society sufficiently numerous; and secondly, that instead of being a rival to the university, it would be an honor and an advantage to it. That the president and principal professors would, no doubt, be always members of it; and the meetings might be ordered, wholly or in part, at the college and

* The Chevalier Anne César de la Luzerne [1741–1821] was French minister to the United States from 1779 to 1783, afterwards minister to England. M. François de Barbé Marbois [1745–1837] was his secretary of legation, and after the return of his chief to France, was *chargé d'affaires* until 1785. For many interesting facts, not elsewhere accessible, concerning the career of these men in the United States, and their acquaintance with Adams, see John Durand's admirable "New Materials for a History of the American Revolution." New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1889. 12°, pp. i–vi, 1–310.

† Rev. Samuel Cooper, D. D. [1725–83], an eminent patriot, long pastor of Brattle Street Church, in Boston, and a leading member of the corporation of Harvard. He was the first vice-president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The first president of the Academy was James Bowdoin, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, and the friend of Washington and Franklin, and a member of the Royal Society. He held the presidency from 1780 until his death in 1790. His descendant, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, was chosen to deliver the oration at the centennial anniversary of the organization of the society.

in that room. The doctor at length appeared better satisfied, and I entreated him to propagate the idea and the plan as far and as soon as his discretion would justify. The doctor did accordingly diffuse the project so judiciously and effectually that the first legislature under the new constitution adopted and established it by law. Afterwards, when attending the convention for forming the constitution, I mentioned the subject to several of the members, and when I was appointed by the sub-committee to make a draught of a project of a constitution to be laid before the convention, my mind and heart was so full of this subject that I inserted the provision for the encouragement of literature in chapter fifth, section second. I was somewhat apprehensive that criticism and objections would be made to the section, and particularly that the "natural history" and the "good humor" would be stricken out; but the whole was received very kindly, and passed the convention unanimously, without amendment. *

The two societies are still institutions of national importance, not only because of a time-honored record of useful work, but on account of important general trusts under their control. Although all their meetings are held in the cities where they were founded, their membership is not localized, and to be a "Member of the American Philosophical Society" or a "Fellow of the American Academy," is an honor highly appreciated by every American scientific man.

The Philosophical Society (founded before the separation of

* The provision in the State constitution of which Mr. Adams speaks, was the following:

"The encouragement of literature, etc. Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislators and magistrates in all future periods of the commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the university at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar schools in the towns, to encourage private societies and public institutions, rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people."

"This feature of the constitution of Massachusetts," writes Mr. Adams's biographer, "is peculiar, and in one sense original with Mr. Adams. The recognition of the obligation of a State to promote a higher and more extended policy than is embraced in the protection of the temporal interests and political rights of the individual, however understood among enlightened minds, had not at that time been formally made a part of the organic law. Those clauses since inserted in other State constitutions, which, with more or less of fullness, acknowledged the same principle, are all manifestly taken from this source."

the colonies) copied the Royal Society of Great Britain in its corporate name, as well as in that of its transactions, and in its ideals and methods of work took it for a model.

The American Academy, on the other hand, had its origin "at a time when Britain was regarded as an inveterate enemy, and France as a generous patron,"* and its founders have placed upon record the statement that it was their intention "to give it the air of France rather than that of England, and to follow the Royal Academy rather than the Royal Society.† And so in Boston, the Academy published "Memoirs," while conservative Philadelphia continued to issue "Philosophical Transactions."

In time, however, the prejudice against the motherland became less intense, and the Academy in Boston followed the general tendency of American scientific workers, which has always been more closely parallel with that of England than that of continental Europe, contrasting strongly with the disposition of modern educational administrators to build after German models.

It would have been strange indeed if the deep-seated sympathy with France which our forefathers cherished had not led to still other attempts to establish organizations after the model of the French Academy of Sciences. The most ambitious of these was in connection with the "Academy of Arts and Sciences of the United States of America," whose central seat was to have been in Richmond, Va., and whose plan was brought to America in 1788, by the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire. This project, we are told, had been submitted to the King of France and to the Royal Academy of Science, and had received an unqualified endorsement signed by many eminent men, among others by Lavoisier and Condorcet, as well as a similar paper from the Royal Academy of Paintings and Sculpture, signed by Vernet and others. A large sum was subscribed by the wealthy planters of Virginia and by the citizens of Richmond, a building was erected, and one professor, Dr. Jean Rouelle, was appointed, who was also commissioned "mineralogist-in-chief" and instructed to make natural history collections in America and Europe.

The population of Virginia, it proved, was far too scattered and rural to give any chance of success for a project which in

* Letter of Manasseh Cutler to Dr. Jonathan Stokes, August 17, 1785.
† Cutler, *l c.*

its nature was only practicable in a commercial and intellectual metropolis, and the Academy died almost before it was born.

"Quesnay's scheme was not altogether chimerical," writes H. B. Adams, "but in the year 1788 France was in no position, financial or social, to push her educational system in Virginia. The year Quesnay's suggestive little tract was published was the year before the French Revolution, in which political maelstrom everything in France went down. * * * If circumstances had favored it, the Academy of the United States of America, established at Richmond, would have become the centre of higher education, not only for Virginia, but for the whole South, and possibly for a large part of the North, if the Academy had been extended as proposed, to the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Supported by French capital, to which in large measure we owe the success of our Revolutionary War, strengthened by French prestige, by liberal scientific and artistic associations with Paris, then the intellectual capital of the world, the Academy at Richmond might have become an educational stronghold, comparable in some degree to the Jesuit influence in Canada, which has proved more lasting than French dominion, more impregnable than the fortress of Quebec."*

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* Copies of Quesnay's pamphlet are preserved in the Virginia State Library at Richmond, and in the Andrew D. White Historical Library of Cornell University, as well as in a certain private library in Baltimore. A full account of this enterprise may be found in Herbert B. Adams's "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," pp. 21–30, and other records occur in Mordecai's "Richmond in By-gone Days" (2d edition, pp. 198–208), and in Goode's "Virginia Cousins," p. 57.

The building erected for the Academy of Sciences was the meeting-place of the convention of patriots and statesmen who ratified in 1788 the Constitution of the United States, and subsequently was the principal theater of the city of Richmond.

"The academy grounds," writes R. A. Brock, "included the square bounded by Broad and Marshal and Eleventh and Twelfth streets, on the lower portion of which stood the Monumental Church and the medical college. The academy stood midway in the square fronting Broad Street. '*L'Academie Des Etats-Unis De L'Amerique*' was an attempt, growing out of the French alliance with the United States, to plant in Richmond a kind of French academy of the arts and sciences, with branch academies in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. The institution was to be at once national and international. It was to be affiliated with the royal societies of London, Paris, Bruxelles, and other learned bodies in Europe. It was to be composed of a president, vice-president, six counsellors, a treasurer-general, a secretary, and a recorder, an agent for taking European sub-

A scientific society was organized at Williamsburg during the Revolution, but in those trying times it failed for lack of attention on the part of its founders.

Our forefathers in colonial times had their national universities beyond the sea, and all of the young colonists who were able to do so, went to Oxford or Cambridge for their classical degrees, and to Edinburgh and London for training in medicine, for admission to the bar, or for clerical orders. Local colleges seemed as unnecessary as did local scientific societies.

Many attempts were made to establish local societies before

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scriptions, French professors, masters, artists-in-chief attached to the academy, twenty-five resident and one hundred and seventy-five non-resident associates, selected from the best talent of the old world and the new. The academy proposed to publish yearly, from its own press in Paris, an almanac. The academy was to show its zeal for science by communicating to France and other European countries a knowledge of the natural products of North America. The museums and cabinets of the old world were to be enriched by the specimens of the flora and fauna of a country as yet undiscovered by men of science. The promoter of this brilliant scheme was the Chevalier Alexander Maria Quesnay de Beaurepaire, grandson of the famous French philosopher and economist, Dr. Quesnay, who was the court physician of Louis XV. Chevalier Quesnay had served as a captain in Virginia, in 1777–'78, in the war of the revolution. The idea of founding the academy was suggested to him in 1778 by John Page, of 'Rosewell,' then lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and himself devoted to scientific investigation. Quesnay succeeded in raising by subscription the sum of 60,000 francs, the subscribers in Virginia embracing nearly one hundred prominent names. The corner-stone of the building, which was of wood, was laid with Masonic ceremonies July 8, 1786. Having founded and organized this academy under the most distinguished auspices, Quesnay returned to Paris and succeeded in enlisting in support of his plan many learned and distinguished men of France and England. The French revolution, however, put an end to the scheme. The academy building was early converted into a theater, which was destroyed by fire, but a new theater was erected in the rear of the old. This new building was also destroyed by fire on the night of December 26, 1811, when seventy-two persons perished in the flames. The Monumental Church commemorates the disaster, and its portico covers the tomb and ashes of most of its victims. A valuable sketch of Quesnay's enlightened projection, chiefly drawn from his curious '*Memoire concernant l'Academie des Sciences et Beaux Arts des Etats-Unis d'Amerique, Etablie a Richmond*,' was published in *The Academy*, December, 1887, Vol. II, No. 9, pp. 403, 412, by Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University. A copy of Quesnay's rare 'Memoire' is in the Library of the State of Virginia. Quesnay complains bitterly that all his letters relating to his service in the American army had been stolen from a pigeon-hole in Governor Henry's desk, and his promotion thus prevented."

final results were accomplished, and the beginnings of the national college system had a similar history.

In 1619 the Virginia Company of England made a grant of ten thousand acres of land for "the foundation of a seminary of learning for the English in Virginia," and in the same year the bishops of England, at the suggestion of the king, raised the sum of £1,500 for the encouragement of Indian education in connection with the same foundation. A beginning was made toward the occupation of the land, and George Thorpe, a man of high standing in England, came out to be superintendent of the university, but he and three hundred and forty other colonists (including all the tenants of the university) were destroyed by the Indians in the massacre of 1622.

The story of this undertaking is told by Prof. H. B. Adams in the "History of the College of William and Mary," in which also is given an account of the *Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis*, which was to have been founded on an island on the Susquehanna River, granted in 1624 for the founding and maintenance of a university, but was suspended on account of the death of its projector, and of King James I., and the fall of the Virginia Company.

Soon after, in 1636, came the foundation of Harvard, then in 1660 William and Mary, Yale in 1701, the College of New Jersey in 1746, the University of Pennsylvania in 1751, Columbia in 1754, Brown in 1764, Dartmouth in 1769, the University of Maryland in 1784, that of North Carolina in 1789–'95, that of Vermont in 1791, and Bowdoin (the college of Maine) in 1794.

When Washington became President, one hundred years ago, there were no scientific foundations within this Republic save the American Academy in Boston; and, in the American Philosophical Society, Bartram's Botanic Garden, the private observatory of Rittenhouse, and Peale's Natural-History Museum, Philadelphia.

Washington's own inclinations were all favorable to the progress of science; and Franklin, who would have been Vice-President but for his age and weakness, Adams, the Vice-President, and Jefferson, Secretary of State, were all in thorough sympathy with the desire of their chief to "promote as objects of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge." All of them were fellows of the American Philosophical Society, and the President took much interest in its proceedings. The records of the society show that he nomi-

nated for foreign membership the Earl of Buchan, president of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and Dr. James Anderson.

Washington's mind was scientific in its tendencies, and his letters to the English agriculturists (Young, Sinclair, and Anderson), show him to have been a close student of physical geography and climatology. He sent out with his own hand, while President, a circular letter to the best informed farmers in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and having received a considerable number of answers, prepared a report on the resources of the Middle Atlantic States, which was the first of the kind written in America, and was a worthy beginning of the great library of agricultural science which has since emanated from our Government press.

In a letter to Arthur Young, dated December 5, 1791, he manifested great interest in the Hessian fly, an insect making frightful ravages in the wheat fields of the Middle States, and so much dreaded in Great Britain that the importation of wheat from America was prohibited.* It was very possibly by his request that a committee of the Philosophical Society prepared and printed an elaborate and exhaustive report, and since its chairman was Washington's Secretary of State, it was practically a governmental affair, the precursor of subsequent entomological commissions, and of our Department of Economic Entomology.†

The interest of Washington in the founding of a national university, as manifested in the provisions of his last will and testament, are familiar to all, and I have been interested to learn that his thoughts were earnestly fixed upon this great project during all the years of the Revolutionary war. It is

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* In an article recently published by Prof. C. V. Riley, he sustains the popular belief and tradition that *Cecidomya* was introduced about the time of the Revolution, and probably by Hessian troops. He gives interesting details concerning the work of the committee of the American Philosophical Society, and a review of recent controversies upon this subject.—See *Canadian Entomologist*, xx., p. 121.

† Before the organization of the Department of Agriculture, another step in economic entomology was taken by the General Government in the publication of an official document on silk-worms:

1828. | MEASE, JAMES. | 20th Congress, | 18th Session | [Doc. No. 226] Ho. of Reps. | Silk-worms. | ——— | Letter | from | James Mease, | transmitting a treatise on the rearing of silk-worms, | by Mr. De Hozze, of Munich, | with plates, etc., etc. | ——— | February 2, 1828.—Read and referred to the Committee on Agriculture. | —— | Washington: | Printed by Gales and Seaton | 1828. | 8°. pp. 1-108.

an inspiring thought that, during the long and doubtful struggle for independence, the leader of the American arms was looking forward to the return of peace, in anticipation of an opportunity to found in a central part of the rising empire an institution for the completing of the education of youths from all parts thereof, where they might at the same time be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from local prejudices and jealousies.

Samuel Blodget in his "Economica," relates the history of the beginning of a national university.

"As the most minute circumstances are sometimes instructing for their relation to great events," he wrote, "we relate the first we ever heard of a national university: It was in the camp at Cambridge, in October, 1775, when Major William Blodget went to the quarters of General Washington to complain of the ruinous state of the colleges from the conduct of the militia quartered therein. The writer of this being in company with his friend and relation, and hearing General Greene join in lamenting the then ruinous state of the eldest seminary in Massachusetts, observed, merely to console the company of friends, that to make amends for these injuries, after our war, he hoped we should erect a noble national university, at which the youth of all the world might be proud to receive instructions. What was thus pleasantly said, Washington immediately replied to, with that inimitably expressive and truly interesting look, for which he was sometimes so remarkable: 'Young man, you are a prophet, inspired to speak what I am confident will one day be realized.' He then detailed to the company his impressions, that all North America would one day become united. He said that a Colonel Byrd,* of Virginia, was the first man who had pointed out the best central seat [for the capital city] near to the present spot, or about the falls of the Potomac. General Washington further said that a Mr. Evans † had expressed the same opinion with many other

* Probably the third William Byrd [1728–1777], the son of the author of "Westover Papers." He was colonel of the Second Virginia regiment in 1756, and perhaps was in camp with Washington on the present site of the capital, when he became so deeply impressed with the eligibility of the site for a national city.

†Perhaps Lewis Evans, the geographer, who in 1749 published a map of the central colonies, including Virginia. Professor Winsor tells me that there are copies of this map in the possession of Harvard University, in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and one in the Faden col-

gentlemen, who, from a cursory view of a chart of North America, received this natural and truly correct impression. The look of General Washington, the energy of his mind, his noble and irresistible eloquence, all conspired so far to impress the writer with these subjects, that if ever he should unfortunately become insane it will be from his anxiety for the federal city and national university." *

In another part of the same book Mr. Blodget describes a conversation with Washington, which took place after the site of the capital had been decided upon, in which the President "stated his opinion that there were four or five thousand inhabitants in the city of Washington, and until Congress were comfortably accommodated, it might be premature to commence a seminary. * * * He did not wish to see the work commenced until the city was prepared for it, but he added that he hoped he had not omitted to take such measures as would at all events secure the entire object in time, even if its merits should not draw forth from every quarter the aid it would be proud to deserve," alluding, of course, to the provisions in his own will. "He then," continues Blodget, "talked again and again on Mr. Turgot's and Dr. Price's calculations of the effect of compound interest, at which, as he was well versed in figures, he could acquit himself in a mas terly manner." †

Concerning the fate of the Potomac Company, a portion of whose stock was destined by Washington as a nucleus for the endowment of a university, it is not necessary now to speak. The value of the bequest was at the time placed at £5,000 sterling, and it was computed by Blodget, that had Congress kept faith with Washington, as well as did the Legislature of Virginia in regard to the endowment of Washington College, his donation at compound interest would in twelve years (1815) have grown to $50,000, and in twenty-four (1827) years $100,000, an endowment sufficient to establish one of the colleges in the proposed university.

Madison, when a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, probably acting in harmony with the wishes of Washing-

lection in the Library of Congress. Prof. Josiah D. Whitney says that the legend on it, "All great storms begin to leeward," is, so far as he knows, the first expression of that scientific opinion.

* "Economica," p. 22.

† *Ib.*, App., p. ix.

ton, proposed as among the powers proper to be added to those of the General Legislature, the following:

"To establish a university.

"To encourage, by premiums and provisions, the advancement of useful knowledge, and the discussion of science."*

That he never lost his interest in the university idea is shown by his vigorous appeal while President, in his message of December, 1810, in which he urged the importance of an institution at the capital which would "contribute not less to strengthen the foundations than to adorn the structure of our system of government."

Quite in accord with the spirit of Madison's message was a letter in the Pennsylvania Gazette of 1788,† in which it was argued that the new form of government proposed by the framers of the Constitution could not succeed in a republic, unless the people were prepared for it by an education adapted to the new and peculiar situation of the country, the most essential instrument for which should be a federal university. Indeed, the tone of this article, to which my attention has recently been directed by President Welling, was so harmonious with that of the previous and subsequent utterances of Madison as to suggest the idea that he, at that time a resident of Philadelphia, may have been its author. It is more probable, however, that the writer was Benjamin Rush, who in 1787 issued an "Address to the People of the United States,"‡ which began with the remark that there is nothing more common than to confound the terms of American Revolution with those of the late American war.

"The American war is over," he said, "but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed. It remains yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government; and to prepare the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens for these forms of government after they are established and brought to perfection."§

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* "Madison Papers," i., pp. 354 and 577.

† See Appendix A.

‡ See Appendix B.

§ The "Society of Sons of the American Revolution," recently organized, and composed of descendants of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots, has for one of its objects "to carry out Washington's injunction 'to promote as objects of primary importance institutions for the diffusion of knowledge,' and thus to create an enlightened public opinion."

And then he went on to propose a plan for a national university, of the broadest scope, with post-graduate scholarships, a corps of traveling correspondents, or fellows, in connection with the consular service, and an educated civil service, organized in connection with the university work.

In "Economica," the work just quoted, printed in 1806, the first work on political economy written in America, Blodget referred to the national university project as an accepted idea, held in temporary abeyance by legislative delays.

Blodget urged upon Congress various projects which he thought to be of national importance, and among the first of these was "To erect, or at least to point out, the place for the statue of 1783, and either to direct or permit the colleges of the university formed by Washington to commence around this statue after the manner of the Timoleonton of Syracuse.*

In intimate connection with his plan for a university was that of Washington for a military academy at West Point. He had found during the Revolution a great want of engineers, and this want caused Congress to accept the services of numerous French engineers to aid our country in its struggle for independence.

At the close of the Revolution Washington lost no time in commending to Virginia the improvement of the Potomac and James Rivers, the junction by canal of Chesapeake Bay and Albemarle Sound of North Carolina. He soon after proceeded to New York to see the plans of General Schuyler to unite the Mohawk with the waters of Lake Ontario, and to Massachusetts to see the plans of the Merrimac Navigation Company.

It was the want of educated engineers for work of this kind that induced Generals Washington, Lee, and Huntington, and Colonel Pickering, in the year 1783, to select West Point as a suitable site for a military academy, and at that place such an institution was essayed, under the law of Congress, in 1794.

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* 1806 Blodget, Samuel, Jr. Economica: | A Statistical Manual | for the | United States of America. | = | . . . . . The legislature ought to make the people happy | Aristotle on government | = | . . . . . "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas" | = | City of Washington: | Printed for the author. | = | 1806, 128 i-viii, 1-202 i-xiv.

The certificate of copyright is in this form:

"Be it remembered that —— Samuel Blodget Jr. hath deposited in this office the title of a book the right whereof he claims as author, but for the benefit in trust for the free education fund of the university founded by George Washington in his last will," etc.

But from the destruction of the building, and its contained books and apparatus by fire, the academy was suspended until the year 1801, when Mr. Jefferson renewed the action of the law, and in the following year, 1802, a United States Corps of Engineers and Military Academy was organized by law and established at West Point, with General Jonathan Williams, the nephew of Franklin, and one of the vice-presidents of the Philosophical Society, at its head, and the United States Military Philosophical Society was established with the whole Engineer Corps of the Army for a nucleus.

This society had for its object "the collecting and disseminating of military science." Its membership during the ten years of its existence included most of the leading men in the country, civilians as well as officers in the Army and Navy. Meetings were held in New York and Washington, as well as in West Point, and it seems to have been the first national scientific society.*

The Patent Office also began under Washington, the first American patent system having been founded by act of Congress, April 10, 1790.

On the 8th of January, 1790, President Washington entered the Senate chamber, where both Houses of Congress were assembled, and addressed them upon the state of the new nation. In the speech of a few minutes, which thus constituted the first annual message to Congress, about a third of the space was given to the promotion of intellectual objects—science, literature, and arts. The following expression may perhaps be regarded as the practical origination of our patent system:

> I can not forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement, as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home.

This, of course was in direct pursuance of the constitutional enactment, bethought and inserted toward the closing days of

*At least three fascicles of "Extracts from the Minutes of the United States Military Society" were printed—one for the stated meeting, Oct. 6, 1806 [4°, 14 pp.]; one for an occasional meeting at Washington, Jan. 30, 1808 [4°, pp. 1-23 (1)]; and one for an occasional meeting at New York, Dec. 28, 1809 [4°, pp. 1-22]. The MS. Records, in four volumes, are said to be in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

I am indebted to Col. John M. Wilson, U. S. Army, Superintendent of the Military Academy, and to General J. C. Kelton, U. S. Army, for courteous and valuable replies to my letters of inquiry.

the convention in September, 1787, empowering Congress with such authority. Each House, the Senate on the 11th and the Representatives on the 12th, sent a cordial response to the President's address, reciting the particulars of his discourse, and promising, especially to his suggestions for encouragement of science and arts, "such early attention as their respective importance requires;" and the lower House proceeded rapidly with the work. January 15 it was resolved that the various measures indicated by the President should be referred to select committees respectively; and on the 25th such a commitee was formed to consider the encouragement of the "useful arts." It consisted of Edamus Burke, of South Carolina, a justice of the supreme court of that State, and native of Ireland; Benjamin Huntington, of Connecticut; and Lambert Cadwalader, of New Jersey. On the 16th of February, Mr. Burke reported his bill, which passed to its second reading the following day. It was copiously discussed and amended in Committee of the Whole, particularly March 4th, when "the clause which gives a party a right to appeal to a jury from a decision of referees, it was moved should be struck out." After a good deal of pointed and profitable remark as to the true sphere and function of juries, the motion for striking out was carried.

The next day, March 5th, the bill was ordered to be engrossed, and on the 10th, after third reading, it passed, and was carried to the Senate. Here, in a few days, it was referred to a committee of which Charles Carroll, of Maryland, was chairman, and reported back the 29th of March, where it passed, with twelve amendments, on the 30th. On the 8th of April it went forward with the signatures of Speaker and Vice-President to the President, who approved it April 10, 1790.* The first patent was granted on the 31st of the following July to Samuel Hopkins, of Vermont, for making "pot and pearl ashes;" and two more during that year.†

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State at this period, under which Department especially the patent system grew up for more than half its first century, took so keen an interest in its aim and workings, and gave such searching personal attention to the issue of the several patents, that he has been quite nat-

* "Statutes at Large," vol. i., pp. 109-112.

† Among the treasures of the National Museum is a patent dated 1796, signed by Washington as President and Pickering as Secretary of State.

urally reputed as the father of our Patent Office, and it seems to have been supposed that the bill itself creating it proceeded from his own suggestion. But by a comparison of dates this appears hardly possible. Jefferson returned from Europe to Norfolk and Monticello toward the end of 1789, his mind deeply occupied with the stirring movements of revolution abroad. During the winter months he was debating whether he should accept the charge of the State Department offered him by Washington; making his way by slow stages from Virginia to New York; receiving innumerable ovations; paying his last visit to the dying Franklin, and he only reached the seat of Government March 21, when the legislative work on this act was practically finished. More than to any other individual probably the American patent system looks for its origin to the Father of the Country.*

Jefferson took great pride in it, and gave personal consideration to every application that was made for patents during the years between 1790 and 1793, while the power of revision and rejection granted by that act remained in force. It is a matter of tradition, handed down to us from generation to generation, that, when an application for a patent was made, he would summon Mr. Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, who was Secretary of War, and Mr. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, who was Attorney-General, these officials being designated by the act, with the Secretary of State, a tribunal to examine and grant patents; and that these three distinguished officials would examine the application critically, scrutinizing each point of the specification and claims carefully and vigorously. The result of this examination was that, during the first year, a majority of the applications failed to pass the ordeal, and only three patents were granted. Every step in the issuing of a patent was taken with great care and caution, Mr. Jefferson thinking always to impress upon the minds of his officers and the public that it was a matter of no ordinary importance.

The subsequent history of the office is very interesting, especially since it contains a record of Mr. Jefferson's vigorous opposition to the change effected by the act of 1793, which he held, by a promiscuous granting of exclusive privileges, would lead to the creation of monopoly in the arts and industries, and

* The foregoing paragraphs concerning the history of the Patent Office were kindly supplied by Mr. Edward Farquhar, for many years its assistant librarian.

was against the theory of a popular government, and would be pernicious in its effects.

In 1812 a building was put up for the accommodation of the office, but this was destroyed in 1836, and with it most of the records which would be necessary for a proper understanding of the early history of American invention.

In the Patent Office building, and with it destroyed, there was gathered a collection of models, which was sometimes by courtesy called the "American Museum of Art," and which afforded a precedent for the larger collection of models and natural products, which remained under the custody of the Commissioner of Patents until 1858, when it was transferred to the Smithsonian Institution, and became a part of the present National Museum.

In 1836 the patent system was reorganized, and most of the methods at present in use were put in operation. As it now stands, it is one of the most perfect and effective in the world, and the Patent Office, judged by the character of the work it performs, although, perhaps, not strictly to be classed among the scientific institutions, is, nevertheless, entitled to such a place by reason of its large and admirable corps of trained scientific experts serving on the staff of examiners.*

The administration of John Adams, beginning in 1797, was short and turbulent. Political strife prevented him from making any impression upon our scientific history; but it requires no research to discern the attitude of the man who founded the American Academy, and who drew up the articles for the encouragement of literature and science in the constitution of Massachusetts.

Jefferson, as Vice-President, taking little part in the affairs of the Administration, was at liberty to cultivate the sciences. When he came to Philadelphia to be inaugurated Vice-President, he brought with him a collection of the fossilized bones of some large quadruped, and the manuscript of a memoir upon them, which he read before the American Philosophical Society, of which he had been elected president the preceding year.

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* See Official Gazette, U. S. Patent Office, vol. xii., No. 15, Tuesday, Oct. 9, 1877; also articles in Appleton's and Johnson's Cyclopædias.

The history of the Patent Office has never been written; a full account of its work, and of its influence upon the progress of American invention is greatly to be desired.

"The spectacle of an American statesman, coming to take part as a central figure in the greatest political ceremony of our country, and bringing with him an original contribution to science, is certainly," as Luther has said, "one we shall not soon see repeated." *

In 1801 began the administration most memorable in the history of American science. The President of the United States was, during the eight years of his office, president of the American Philosophical Society as well, and was in touch with all the intellectual activities of the period. He wrote to a correspondent: "Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science by rendering them my supreme delight," and to another he said: "Your first letter gives me information in the line of natural history, and the second promises political news; the first is my passion, the last is my duty, and therefore both desirable."

"At times of the fiercest party conflict," says Luther, "when less happily constituted minds would scarcely have been able to attend to the routine duties of life, we find him yielding to that subtle native force which all through life was constantly drawing him away from politics to science."

Thus during these exciting weeks in February, 1801, when Congress was vainly trying to untangle the difficulties arising from the tie vote between Jefferson and Burr, when every politician at the capital was busy with schemes and counterschemes, this man, whose political fate was balanced on a razor's edge, was corresponding with Dr. Wistar in regard to some bones of the mammoth which he had just procured from Shawangunk in New York. Again, in 1808, when the excitement over the "Embargo" was highest, and when every day brought fresh denunciations of him and his policy, he was carrying on his geological studies in the White House itself. Under his direction upward of three hundred specimens of fossil bones had been brought from the famous Big Bone Lick and spread in one of the large unfinished rooms of the Presidential mansion. Dr. Wistar was asked to come to Philadelphia and select such as were needed to complete the collection

* See Jefferson, "A Memoir on the Discovery of Certain Bones of a Quadruped, of the Clawed Kind, in the Western Part of Virginia," in the American Philosophical Transactions, IV., p. 246, (March 10, 1797); also F. B. Luther, "Jefferson as a Naturalist," in the Magazine of American History, March, 1885, pp. 379–390.

of the Philosophical Society. The exploration of the lick was made at the private expense of Jefferson through the agency of General William Clarke, the Western explorer, and this may fairly be regarded as the beginning of American governmental work in paleontology.

His scientific tendencies led to much criticism, of which the well-known lines by William Cullen Bryant, in "The Embargo," afford a very mild example.* He cast all calumny aside with the remark "that he who had nothing to conceal from the press had nothing to fear from it," and calmly went on his way. The senior members of his Cabinet were James Madison, a man of the most enlightened sympathy with science, and Gallatin, one of the earliest American philologists; while one of his strongest supporters in Congress was Samuel Latham Mitchill, a mighty promoter of scientific interests in his native State, whom Adams wittily describes as "chemist, botanist, naturalist, physician, and politician, who supported the Republican party because Jefferson was its leader, and Jefferson because he was a philosopher."

During this administration the project for a great national institution of learning was revived by Joel Barlow. In 1800, when Barlow was the American Minister in Paris, he said in a letter to Senator Baldwin:

> I have been writing a long letter to Jefferson on quite another subject. It is about learned societies, universities, public instruction, and the advantages you and I have of doing something great and good if you will take it up on proper principles. If you will put me at the head of the institution, as I propose, and give it that support which you ought to do, you can't imagine what a garden it would make of the United States. I have a great project, and only want the time and means to carry it into effect.†

M. Dupont de Nemours was also corresponding with Jefferson upon the same subject, and his work, "Sur l'Education Nationale dans les Etats Unis," published in Paris in 1800, was written at his request.‡

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* "Go, wretch, resign the Presidential chair;
Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair.
Go, search with curious eyes for hornèd frogs
'Mid the wild wastes of Louisianian bogs,
Or where the Ohio rolls his turbid stream
Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme."

† Todd: "Life and Letters of Joel Barlow," p. 208.

‡ Adams: "Jefferson and the University of Virginia," p. 49, *et seq.*

Barlow returned to the American States in 1805, and almost his first public act after his arrival, we are told, was to issue a prospectus in which he forcibly and eloquently depicted the necessity and advantages of a national scientific institution.

This was to consist of a central university at or near the seat of government, and, as far as might seem practicable or advisable, other universities, colleges, and schools of education, either in Washington or in other parts of the United States, together with printing presses for the use of the institution, laboratories, libraries, and apparatus for the sciences and the arts, and gardens for botany and agricultural experiments.

The institution was to encourage science by all means in its power, by correspondence, by premiums and by scholarships, and to publish school-books at cost of printing.

The Military and Naval Academies, the Mint, and the Patent Office were to be connected with the university, and there was also to be a general depository of the results of scientific research and of the discoveries by voyages and travels, actually the equivalent of a national museum.

"In short," wrote Barlow, "no rudiment of knowledge should be below its attention, no height of improvement above its ambition, no corner of an empire beyond its vigilant activity for collecting and diffusing information."*

The editor of the National Intelligencer, the organ of the administration in 1806, commented favorably upon the plan of Barlow.

This gentleman [wrote he] whose mind has been enlarged by extensive observation, by contemplating man under almost every variety of aspect in which he appears, and whose sentiments have been characterized by an uniformly zealous devotion to liberty, has most justly embraced the opinion that the duration as well as perfection of republicanism in this country will depend upon the prevalence of correct information, itself dependent upon the education of the great body of the people. Having raised himself, as we understand, to a state of pecuniary independence, he has returned

* See text of prospectus in Appendix C to this paper, or in National Intelligencer, Washington, 1806, August 1 and November 24. The original publication, of which there is a copy in the Congressional Library, recently brought to my notice by Mr. Spofford, is a pamphlet, anonymously published, with the date of Washington, 21th January, 1806.

Prospectus | of a | National Institution, | to be | established | in the | United States | = | Washington City: | Printed by Samuel H. Smith | —— | 1806— 8°, pp. 1-44.

to his native country, with a determination of devoting his whole attention and labors to those objects which are best calculated to improve its state of society, its science, literature, and education. The disinterested exertions of such a man merit the national attention.*

Barlow's prospectus, we are told, was circulated throughout the country, and met with so favorable a response that in 1806 he drew up a bill for the incorporation of the institution, which Mr. Logan, of Philadelphia, introduced in the Senate, which passed to a second reading, was referred to a committee, which never reported, and so was lost.

Barlow's National Institution resembled more closely the House of Salomon in "The New Atlantis" of Bacon than it did the eminently practical university project of Washington. It would be interesting to know to what extent President Jefferson was in sympathy with Barlow. The mind which a few years later directed the organization of the University of Virginia could scarcely have approved all the features of the Kalorama plan. He was undoubtedly at this time anxious that a national university should be founded, as is shown by his messages to Congress in 1806 and 1808,† though it is probable that he wished it to be erected in some convenient part of Virginia, rather than in the city of Washington. The project for transplanting to America the faculty of the college of Geneva, which, but for the opposition of Washington, would probably have been attempted in 1794, had reference rather to the formation of a State university, national in influence, than to a central Federal institution.‡

Although Barlow's plan was, in its details, much too elaborate for the times, the fundamental ideas were exceedingly attractive, and led to very important and far-reaching results.

Barlow expected, of course, that his institution should be established and maintained at Government cost. This was soon found to be impracticable, and those who were interested in the intellectual advancement of the capital soon had recourse to the idea of beginning the work at private expense, relying upon Government aid for its future advancement.

Barlow's classmate, Josiah Meigs, his friend and neighbor Thomas Law, aided by Edward Cutbush, Judge Cranch, and

* National Intelligencer, Nov. 24, 1806.

† Henry Adams, "History of the United States," 1805–1809, i., 346, 347; ii., 365.

‡ Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–6.

other citizens of Washington proceeded, forthwith, to attempt that which the politicians dared not.

The essential features of Barlow's plan were:

(1) The advancement of knowledge by associations of scientific men; and

(2) The dissemination of its rudiments by the instruction of youth.*

To meet the first of these requirements they organized the Columbian Institute for the promotion of Arts and Sciences, in 1819; and for the second, the Columbian College, incorporated in 1821. Most of the prominent members of the Columbian Institute were also among the friends and supporters of the college. Dr. Josiah Meigs, the friend and classmate of Barlow, the president of the institute from 1819 to 1821, was an incorporator, and a member of the first faculty of the college.†

Dr. Edward Cutbush, the founder of the Columbian Institute, was also a professor, as well as Dr. Thomas Sewall, Dr. Alexander McWilliams, and Judge William Cranch, and in publications made at the time these men distinctly proposed to realize the aspirations of Washington, for the creation of a great National University at the seat of the Federal Government. It was in this cause President Monroe gave to the Columbian College his public support as President of the United States. At a later day, when an hour of need overtook the college, John Quincy Adams became one of its saving benefactors.‡

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* "The Old Bachelor," by William Wirt, p. 186.

† I am indebted to Dr. James C. Welling, President of the Columbian University, for much important information concerning this and other matters discussed in the present paper.

‡ James C. Welling: "The Columbian University," Washington, 1889, p. 1. The following letter written by President Monroe in 1821, indicates that the public men of the day were not unwilling that the institution should be regarded as one of national scope:

WASHINGTON, *March* 28, 1821.

SIR: I avail myself of this mode of assuring you of my earnest desire that the college which was incorporated by an Act of Congress at the last session, by the title of "The Columbian College in the District of Columbia" may accomplish all the useful purposes for which it was established; and I add, with great satisfaction, that there is good reason to believe that the hopes of those who have so patriotically contributed to advance it to its present stage will not be disappointed.

Its commencement will be under circumstances very favorable to its success. The act of incorporation is well digested, looks to the proper objects, and grants the powers well adapted to their attainment. The establish-

The donation of $25,000 made to the Columbian College in 1832 was preceded by a report from the Committee in House of Representatives on District of Columbia.

That report may be found in "Reports of Committees, first session Twenty-second Congress (1831-'32,)" vol. III., Report No. 334.

After reciting the early history of the college the report proceeds as follows:

"Few institutions present as strong claims to the patronage of Government as that in behalf of which the forementioned memorial has been presented. (The Report is made in answer to a memorial of the president and trustees of the college, asking Congress to make a donation to the college 'from the sale of public lots or from such other source as Congress may think proper to direct.') Its location near the seat of Government, its salubrious middle climate, and other advantages, and the commendable efforts of the present trustees and professors to sustain it, justly entitle it to public beneficence."

The Columbian Institute was granted the use of rooms in the Capitol building under the present Congressional Library Hall, which became a center of the scientific and literary interests of Washington, and its annual meetings were held in the hall of the House of Representatives, where Southard, Clay, Everett, Meigs, and Adams, delivered addresses upon matters of science and political economy to large assemblages of public men. In 1819, Josiah Meigs, its president, writing to Dr. Daniel Drake, of Cincinnati, said:

I have little doubt that this Congress will, before they rise, give the institute a few acres of ground for our building and for a Botanic Garden. Mr. Barlow made great efforts to obtain this object eight or ten years ago. He could do nothing—but prejudices which then were of the density of a thunder-cloud are now as tenuous as the tail of a comet. *

"The supreme legislative power of the United States over persons and property within the District of Columbia is unquestioned. Congress has

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ment of the institution within the Federal District in the presence of Congress, and of all the departments of the Government will secure to the young men who may be educated in it many important advantages, among which the opportunity which it will afford them of hearing the debates in Congress and in the Supreme Court, on important subjects, must be obvious to all.

With these peculiar advantages, this institution, if it receives hereafter the proper encouragement, can not fail to be eminently useful to the nation. Under this impression, I trust that such encouragement will not be withheld from it.

I am, sir, with great respect, your very obedient servant,

JAMES MONROE.

* "Life of Josiah Meigs," p. 102.

repeatedly made grants of portions of the public lands to seminaries of learning situated within the limits of States and Territories where such lands lie. The Constitution having thus confided to the care of the National Legislature the rights and interests of the District of Columbia, and Congress having made liberal donations out of the national domain to promote the great cause of education, in all the other districts within which the General Government has exclusive jurisdiction, it would seem to be cruel injustice to refuse the small boon now recommended. These considerations induce the hope that the proposed donation will be exempt from all opposition not founded in doubts of the just claim to patronage of the institution for the benefit of which it is designed. And these claims, it is fully believed, will stand the test of the severest scrutiny."

The report from which the above extracts are taken was made February 27, 1832 (to accompany House Bill, No. 422), by Mr. Thomas, of Maryland, (on behalf of the committee on the District of Columbia), in answer to memorial of the trustees and the president of the Columbian College.

On the ground granted by Congress, a botanical garden was established by the society, in 1822, or 1823, with the co-operation of the State Department and the consular service. In 1829 the society applied to Congress for pecuniary aid, which was not granted.*

The Columbian University was also an applicant for government aid, which it received to the amount of $25,000 in 1832, on the ground that it was an institution of national importance, organized by private individuals to do work legitimately within the domain of governmental responsibilities.†

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* The original members of the Columbian Institute were: Hon. John Quincy Adams; Col. George Bomford, U. S. A.; Dr. John A. Brereton, U. S. A.; Dr. Edward Cutbush, U. S. N.; Asbury Dickins, esq.; Joseph Gales, jr., esq.; Dr. Henry Huntt; Thomas Law, esq.; Edmund Law, esq.; Dr. George W. May; Alexander McWilliams, esq.; William Winston Seaton, esq.; Samuel H. Smith, esq.; William Thornton, esq.; Hon. Roger C. Weightman.

Among the later members were Dr. Joseph Lovell, U. S. A.; Col. Isaac Roberdeau; Dr. Thomas Sewell; Judge William Cranch; Hon. Henry Clay; Hon. John McLean; Hon. Richard Rush; Hon. S. L. Southard; Hon. William Wirt; Dr. W. S. W. Ruschenberger, U. S. N.; Hon. J. M. Berrien; Hon. J. C. Calhoun; Rev. Obadiah Brown; and Rev. William Staughton.

The minutes of the Columbian Institute are not to be found. The treasurer's book is in the National Museum.

† This appropriation was made on the strength of a report by Senator Barbour, of Virginia, chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, in which, after alluding to the long recognized "utility of a central literary establishment" and to the failures of the recommendations of Washington and Madison, he gave a brief history of the enterprise, which was as follows:

"At length a few enterprising and patriotic individuals attempted to

The Columbian College received nearly one-third of its original endowment from the Government of the United States. Of the remainder perhaps one-half was contributed by men like President Adams, whose sole interest in it was a patriotic one.

During Jackson's presidency all ideas of centralization, even in scientific matters, appear to have fallen into disfavor, and the Columbian Institute and the Columbian College were forced to abandon their hopes for governmental aid. The institute languished and dropped out of existence, while the college, under the fostering care of a church organization (which finally dropped it in 1846), and through the beneficence of individuals, one of whom, a citizen of Washington, gave it property to the value of $200,000, has grown to be a university in name and scope, and is included among the thirteen "foundations comprising groups of related faculties, colleges, or schools," enu-

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achieve by voluntary donations that which it had been supposed could be effected only by the power of Congress.

"Their efforts were crowned with distinguished success. One individual in particular, the Rev. Luther Rice, with an unwearied industry and an unyielding perseverance which prompted him to traverse every part of the Union in pursuit of aid to this beneficent object, contributed principally to that success.

"The funds thus acquired were faithfully and judiciously applied to this object * * * Application was made to Congress for an act of incorporation, which passed February 9, 1821. This, however, was all the aid which Congress dispensed.

"The accompanying document shows that there have been expended in this institution $80,000, of which only $50,000 have been procured; and as a consequence the institution is embarrassed by a debt to the amount of $30,000. * * * Under the circumstances the individuals who have thus generously devoted themselves to the promotion of this establishment, and who have disinterestedly pledged their independence upon the success of the college, present themselves to Congress with a view to obtain their protection by a pecuniary grant. * * *

"The committee in reviewing the peculiar circumstances which characterize the origin of this establishment, its progress, and the great benefits it promises to society, are of the opinion that the application is reasonable. It can not be doubted that had such an establishment grown up, under similar circumstances in either of the States it would receive the helping hand of its legislature. Congress stands in the same relation to this establishment, from its exclusive power of legislation within the District, etc."

Report of Mr. Barbour from the Committee on the District of Columbia to whom was referred the memorial of the trustees of the Columbian College.—April 19, 1824.—Senate.—Eighteenth Congress, first session (67). 80-83 pp.

merated in the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1886–'87.

Although it has not since 1832 made any claims for government aid, nor assumed to be in any way a ward of the nation, its early history is significant, on account of its connection with the project for a National University, which has been for more than a century before the people. The Government has since established in Washington City the National Deaf Mute College, which it still maintains, and the Howard University, intended primarily for the freedman, but open to all.

The founders of the Columbian Institute and the Columbian University were building better than they knew, for they were not only advancing knowledge in their own day and generation, but they were educating public opinion for a great opportunity, which soon came in the form of a gift to the nation from beyond the sea, in the form of the Smithson bequest.

The story of the Smithsonian Institution is a remarkable one. Smithson was a graduate of the University of Oxford, a Fellow of the Royal Society, a chemist and mineralogist of well recognized position. The friend and associate of many of the leading scientific men of England, he found it advisable, for reasons connected with his family history, to pass most of his life upon the Continent. A man of ample fortune, he associated with men of similar tastes, and died in 1829, leaving in trust to the United States property now amounting in value to nearly three quarters of a million of dollars, to establish at the national capital "an institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." No one has been able to explain why he did this. He had, so far as we know, no friend or correspondent in the United States, and had made known to no one his intention of establishing an institution of learning in the New World.*

It is more than probable, however, that he knew Barlow when American Minister in Paris, and that the Prospectus of the National Institution, or the treatise by Dupont de Nemours,

* The only suggestion which has ever been offered is that by Mr. W. J. Rhees, in his history of "James Smithson and his Bequest," in which he calls attention to the fact that in the library of Smithson was a copy of "Travels through North America," published in 1807, by Isaac Weld, Secretary of the Royal Society, in which he describes the city of Washington, and refers to it prophetically as likely some time to become the intellectual and political center of one of the greatest nations of the world.

may have attracted his attention. He was aware of the failure of the attempts to obtain national support at the start for scientific uses, and conceived the idea of founding, with his own means, an organization which should, he foresaw, grow into national importance. Any one who will take the pains to compare the criticisms and objections to Barlow's project, as set forth in Wirt's essay in "The Old Bachelor,"* with those which were urged in Congress and the public press in opposition to the acceptance of the Smithson bequest thirty years later, can not fail to be greatly impressed by the similarity of tone and argument.

The Smithsonian Institution, with its dependencies and affiliations, corresponds perhaps more closely at the present time to Barlow's "National Institution" than any organization existing elsewhere in the world. The names of its three secretaries—Henry, the physicist (in office from 1846 to 1878); Baird, the naturalist (assistant secretary from 1850 to 1878, secretary, 1878–'87); and Langley, the astronomer, suggest in a few words the main features of its history.

Recurring to Jefferson's Presidency, it should be noted that its most important scientific features were the inception of the system of scientific surveys of the public domain, and the organization of the Coast Survey. The first was most peculiarly Jefferson's own, and was the outcome of more than twenty years of earnest endeavor.

The apathy of the British government in colonial times in the matter of explorations of the American continent is inexplicable. Halley, the philosopher and mathematician, was in charge of a fruitless expedition in 1699; and Ellis, in 1746, explored Hudson's Bay under government auspices, searching for a northwest passage.

The first inland exploring expedition under government auspices seems to have been that of Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, who in 1724, accompanied by a party of young colonists, made an excursion to the summit of the Blue Ridge for the purpose of ascertaining what lay beyond.

Nothing else was done in colonial days, although it would appear that Jefferson, and doubtless others as well as he, had in mind the importance of exploring the great northwest. In

* The Old Bachelor, Baltimore: F. Lucas, jun. small 8°, pp. 1–235 page 171.

the recently published life of Matthew Fontaine Maury, the story is told of his grandfather, the Rev. James Maury, an Episcopal clergyman and instructor of youth, in Walker Parish, Albemarle county, Va., who numbered among his pupils three boys who afterward became Presidents of the United States, and five signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was a quiet thinker—a serene old man who gave the week to contemplative thought and to his school, and Sunday to the service of the sanctuary. In 1756 he was already dazzled by the rising glory of the new country. He was intensely interested in the great Northwest. The Missouri was a myth at that time. Cox had ascended the Mississippi to the falls of St. Anthony, and reported the existence of such a stream, but all beyond was shrouded in mystery.

"But see," said the aged clergyman, pointing with trembling finger and eager eye to the map of the North American continent—"see, there must be a large river in that direction; mountains are there, and beyond them there must be a stream to correspond with the vast river on this side of the chain"; and by a process of reasoning based on physical geography, he pointed out to his pupils (Thomas Jefferson among them), the existence of the line of the river as accurately as Le Verrier did the place of Neptune in the firmament, and predicted that a great highway to the West would some day be opened in this direction.*

It would appear that Jefferson never forgot the suggestion of his venerable teacher. While Minister of the United States in Paris in 1785, he became acquainted with John Ledyard, of Connecticut, a man of genius, of some science, and of fearless courage and enterprise, who had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage to the Pacific. "I suggested to him," writes Jefferson, "the enterprise of exploring the western part of our continent by passing through St. Petersburg to Kamtchatka, and procuring a passage thence in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, whence he might make his way across the continent to the United States. He proceeded to within 200 miles of Kamchatka, and was there obliged to take up his winter quarters, and when preparing in the spring to resume his journey, he was arrested by an officer of the Empress of Russia, and carried back in a close carriage to Poland. "Thus," says Jefferson, "failed the first attempt to explore the western part of our northern continent."

* "Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury," by Mrs. D. F. M. Corbin, London, 1888, p. 6.

In a letter to Bishop Madison, dated Paris, July 19, 1788, Jefferson tells the story of Ledyard's failure, and of his departure on an expedition up the Nile. "He promises me," continues Jefferson, "if he escapes through his journey, he will go to Kentucky and endeavor to penetrate westerly to the South Sea." Ledyard died in Africa.

The proposed expedition of Ledyard, though undertaken at the instance of the American Minister in Paris, can scarcely be regarded as a governmental effort. It is of interest, however, as leading up to the second attempt, which also was inspired and placed on foot by Jefferson.

"In 1792," writes Jefferson, "I proposed to the American Philosophical Society, that we should set on foot a subscription to engage some competent person to explore those regions in the opposite direction, that is by ascending the Missouri, crossing the Stony Mountains, and descending the nearest river to the Pacific.*

"Captain Meriwether Lewis being then stationed at Charlottesville on the recruiting service, warmly solicited me to obtain for him the execution of that object. I told him that it was proposed that the person engaged should be attended by a single companion only, to avoid exciting alarm among the Indians. This did not deter him; but Mr. André Michaux, a professed botanist, author of the 'Flora Boreali-Americana,' and of the 'Histoire des Chênes de l'Amérique,' offering his services, they were accepted. He received his instructions, and when he had reached Kentucky in the prosecution of his journey, he was overtaken by an order from the Minister of France, then at Philadelphia, to relinquish the expedition, and to pursue elsewhere the botanical inquiries on which he was employed by the government, and thus failed the second attempt to explore that region." †

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* Jefferson does not mention in this connection the well-known fact that he himself became personally responsible for raising the sum of 1,000 guineas from private sources, to secure the sending out of this expedition.

† The late Dr. Asa Gray, in a letter written to me shortly before his death, remarks: "I have reason to think that Michaux suggested to Jefferson the expedition which the latter was active in sending over to the Pacific. I wonder if he put off Michaux for the sake of having it in American hands."

I think it is sufficiently evident from what has been written, that the project had been considered by Jefferson long before Michaux came into America. A statement parallel to that of Jefferson is found in the brief biography of Michaux prefixed by Prof. C. S. Sargent, to his reprint of the

It is related by Jefferson, in his "memoranda of conversations," that Judge Breckenridge, of Kentucky, told him in 1800, that Michaux was not only a botanical agent of the French, but a political emissary, and that he held a commission

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Journal of Andre Michaux, published in the "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society," vol. XXVI, No. 129, page 4: "The French Government was anxious in 1785 to introduce into the Royal plantations the most valuable trees of eastern North America, and Michaux was selected for this undertaking. He was instructed to explore the territory of the United States, to gather seeds of trees, shrubs, and other plants, and to establish a nursery near New York for their reception, and afterwards to send them to France, where they were to be planted in the park of Rambouillet. He was directed also to send game-birds from America, with a view to their introduction into the plantations of American trees. Michaux, accompanied by his son, then fifteen years old, arrived in New York in October, 1785. Here during two years he made his principal residence, establishing a nursery, of which all trace has now disappeared, and making a number of short, botanical journeys into New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The fruits of these preliminary explorations, including 12 boxes of seeds, 5,000 seedling trees, and a number of live partridges were sent to Paris at the end of the first year.

"Michaux's first visit to South Carolina was made in September, 1787. He found Charleston a more suitable place for his nurseries, and made that city his headquarters during the rest of his stay in America.

"Michaux's journeys in this country after his establishment in Charleston are detailed in the journal (printed in the place already referred to). They cover the territory of North America from Hudson's Bay to the Indian River of Florida, and from the Bahama Islands to the banks of the Mississippi River. His ambition to carry out his instructions was equaled only by his courage and industry. The history of botanical explorations accords no greater display of fortitude and enthusiasm in pursuit of knowledge than Michaux showed in his journey to the headwaters of the Savannah River in December, 1788, when his zeal was rewarded by the discovery of *Shortia* on the return from his visit to Hudson's Bay. The hardship of his last journey even did not satisfy his craving for adventure and discovery, and shortly after his return he laid before the American Philosophical Society a proposition to explore the unknown region which lay beyond the Missouri. His proposition was well received. The sum of $5,000 was raised by subscription to meet the expenses of the journey, all arrangements were made, and he was about ready to start when he was called upon by the Minister of the French Republic, lately arrived in New York, to proceed to Kentucky to execute some business growing out of the relations between France and Spain with regard to the transfer of Louisiana."

"It was this suggestion of Michaux, no doubt," says Sargent in concluding this reference, "which led Mr. Jefferson, who had regarded him with great favor, to send a few years later the first trans-continental expedition to the shores of the Pacific." Professor Sargent, like Dr. Gray, has evidently not been in possession of the history of Jefferson's early interest in this matter.

as commissary for an expedition against the Spaniards, planned by Genet, in connection with a plot to gain possession of the eastern Mississippi Valley for France.*

"In 1803," continues Jefferson, "the act of establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes being about to expire, some modifications of it were recommended to Congress by a confidential message of January 18, and an extension of its views to the Indians on the Missouri. In order to prepare the way, the message proposed sending an exploring party to trace the Missouri to its source, to cross the highlands, and follow the best water communication which offered itself from thence to the Pacific Ocean. Congress approved the proposition and voted a sum of money for carrying it into execution. Captain Lewis, who had then been near two years with me as private secretary, immediately renewed his solicitation to have the direction of the party."

In his life of Lewis, prefixed to the history of the expedition, Jefferson gives in full an account of Lewis's preparation for the expedition, including his instruction in astronomical observation by Andrew Ellicott, and also a full text of the instructions, signed by him, addressed to Lewis and his associate, Capt. William Clarke. Captain Lewis left Washington on the 5th of July, 1803, and proceeded to Pittsburgh. Delays of preparation, difficulties of navigation down the Ohio, and other obstructions retarded his arrival at Cahoki until the season was so far advanced that he was obliged to wait until the ice should break up in the beginning of spring. His mission accomplished, he returned to St. Louis on the 23d of September, 1806.

"Never," says Jefferson, "did a similar event excite more joy through the United States. The humblest of its citizens had taken a lively interest in the issue of the journey, and looked forward with impatience for the information it would furnish. The anxiety, too, for the safety of the corps had been kept in a state of excitement by lugubrious rumors circulated from time to time on uncertain authorities, and uncontradicted by letters or other direct information, from the time they had left the Mandan towns on their ascent up the river, in April of the preceding year, 1805, until their actual return to St. Louis."

The second expedition towards the West was also sent out during Jefferson's administration, being that under the com-

* "Jefferson's Writings," ed. T. J. Randolph, iv., pp. 513, 514.

mand of General Zebulon M. Pike, who was sent to explore the sources of the Mississippi River and the western parts of "Louisiana," continuing as far west as Pike's Peak, the name of which still remains as a memorial of this enterprise.*

The expedition of Lewis and Clarke was followed, in due course and in rapid succession, by others, some geographical, some geological, some for special researches, and some more comprehensive in character.

To those who are in the least degree familiar with the history of American exploration, the names of Long, Cass and Schoolcraft, Bonneville, Nicollet, Fremont, Sitgreaves, Wizlizenus, Foster and Whitney, Owen, Stansbury, Abert, Marcy, Stevens, Gunnison, Beckwith, Whipple, Williamson, Parke, Pope, Emory, Bartlett, Bryan, Magraw, Johnston, Campbell, Warren, Twining, Ives, Beale, Simpson, Lander, McClellan, Mullan, Raynolds, Heap, Jones, Ruffner, Ludlow, Maguire, Macomb, and Stone will bring up the memory of much adventurous exploration and a vast amount of good scientific work; while to mention Hayden, Wheeler, King, and Powell is to leave the field of history and to call up the early stages of the development of that magnificent organization, the United States Geological Survey, which is still in the beginning of its career of usefulness.†

The history of the Coast Survey began with the earliest years of the century. It has been thought by some that the idea originated with Albert Gallatin, and by others that it was due to Prof. Robert Patterson,‡ while Hassler, whose

* It is a matter of history that Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, was anxious to be appointed the naturalist of Pike's expedition, and Jefferson has been warmly abused for not gratifying his desire. It should be borne in mind that at this time Wilson was a man whose reputation had not yet been achieved and also that it is quite possible that in those days, as in the present, the projectors of such enterprises were often hindered by lack of financial opportunity.

† The U. S. Geological Survey was organized March 3, 1879, and Clarence King was appointed its first director. Major J. W. Powell, his successor, was appointed March 18, 1881.

‡ The committee of twenty, appointed in 1857 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, to report upon the history and progress of the Coast Survey, made the following statement:

"It is believed that the honor of first suggesting a geodetic survey of the American coast, is due to the elder Professor Patterson, of Philadelphia, who, as early as the year 1806, availed himself of his intimacy with the President, Mr. Jefferson, and the gentlemen who formed his Cabinet, to im-

name is so intimately associated with its early history, seems to have supposed that it was suggested by his own advent, in 1805, bringing with him from Switzerland a collection of mathematical books and instruments.*

Passing by the question as to who was the originator of the idea, with the simple remark that it is doubtful whether such an enterprise should not have for long years been in the minds of many Americans, it may be said that, without doubt, the early organization of the survey was due to the scientific wisdom and political foresight of Jefferson, who realized that within a few years the country would be involved in a war with Great Britain, and that a thorough knowledge of the coast was essential not only to the prosperity of the nation in time of peace, but still more to its safety in case of invasion. At that time the only charts available for our mariners were those in "The Atlantic Neptune" of Colonel Des Barres, and the old hydrographic charts issued by the Dutch, French, and English governments. Jefferson realized that American seamen were less

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press them with the feasibility and quality of the measure."—"Report on the History and Progress of the American Coast Survey up to the Year 1858, by the Committee of Twenty, Appointed by the Association for the Advancement of Science, at the Montreal Meeting, August, 1857" (pp. 1–8), p. 18.

* "I arrived in this country in October, 1805, having relinquished my public station in my native country, Switzerland, foreseeing the turn of political events which have since come to pass, and from a taste for a rural life with completely different views and means quite sufficient for them, but which I have failed to claim. Having arrived in Philadelphia, the late Professor Patterson, Mr. Garnet, of New Brunswick, and several other gentlemen, on seeing the books, mathematical instruments, etc., I had brought with me for my private enjoyment, were so kind as to show me some attention. I had occasion to show them, in conversation, by the scientific publications of Europe, that I had been engaged in an extensive survey of Switzerland, which was interrupted by the revolution. Professor Patterson sent to President Jefferson an account of my former life, which I furnished at his request; and Mr. Clay, the representative to Congress from Philadelphia, before setting off for Congress, in 1806, asked me if I should be willing to take a survey of the coast, to which I assented." (Letter published in the New York American, probably in February, 1827. Principal Documents Relating to the Survey of the Coast of the United States since 1816, published by F. R. Hassler, Superintendent of the Survey. New York, William Van Norton, printer, 1834. Octavo, pp. 1–180, I–III: folding map. Second Volume of the Principal Documents Relating to the Survey of the Coast of the United States, from October, 1834, to November, 1835. Published by F. R. Hassler, Superintendent of the Survey. New York, William Van Norton, printer, 1835. Octavo, pp. 1–156, I–III (I).)

familiar with many portions of their own coast than were the European navigators, and he appreciated fully the importance of having a knowledge of this kind far more accurate than that which was possessed by any foreigner. "With the clear and bold perception which always distinguishes men of genius when they are trusted in times of danger with the destiny of nations, the President recommended the survey of the home coast with all the aid of the more recent discoveries in science;" and in his annual message to Congress, in the year 1807, proposed the establishment of a national survey, for the purpose of making a complete chart of the coast with the adjacent shoals and soundings.

In response to this recommendation, Congress made an appropriation of $50,000 for the purpose of carrying out the provision of the following law:

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR SURVEYING THE COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted, etc., That the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to cause a survey to be taken of the coast of the United States, in which shall be designated the islands and shoals, in the roads or places of anchorage, within 20 leagues of any part of the shores of the United States; and also their respective courses and distances between the principal capes, or head lands, together with such other matters as he may deem proper for completing an accurate chart of every part of the coast within the extent aforesaid. (Act of February 10, 1807.)

By the direction of the President, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, addressed a circular letter to American men of science, requesting their opinion as to the character of the plan to be adopted.

In the circular of the Secretary of the Treasury, the work to be performed was defined as consisting of three distinct parts, as follows:

(1) The ascertainment by a series of astronomical observations of the position of a few remarkable points on the coast, and some of the lighthouses placed on the principal capes, or at the entrance of the principal harbors, appear to be the most eligible places for that purpose as being objects particularly interesting to navigators, visible at a great distance, and generally erected on spots on which similar buildings will be continued so long as navigation exists.

(2) A trigonometrical survey of the coast between these points of which the position shall have been astronomically ascertained; in the execution of which survey, the position of every distinguishable permanent object should be carefully designated; and temporary beacons be erected at proper dis-

tances on those parts of the coast on which such objects are really to be found.

(3) A nautical survey of the shoals and soundings of the coast of which the trigonometrical survey of the coast itself and the ascertained position of the light-houses, and other distinguishable objects, would be the basis; and which would therefore depend but little on any astronomical observations made on board the vessels employed on the part of the work.

This circular letter was submitted to thirteen scientific men, and in response thirteen plans were received at the Treasury Department. A commission, composed of the experts from whom answers had been received, was formed. They met at Professor Patterson's, in Philadelphia, and the plan which they finally selected was then proposed by Ferdinand Rodolph Hassler, at that time, and for several years thereafter, Professor in the Military Academy at West Point.

Nothing was done to secure definitely the execution of this plan until 1811, when Hassler was sent to Europe to procure the necessary instruments and standards of measure for the proposed work. He was detained as an alien in London during the entire war with England, and until 1815, when he returned to the United States, having, as a matter of course, far exceeded the limits of his appropriation, with a large claim against the government for indemnification.*

I have been unable to ascertain the exact date of the appointment of Hassler, as the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, although it was thoroughly understood at the time of the acceptance of his plan in 1807, that it was to be carried out under his direction.

It was not until August, 1816, that the contract was signed with the Government which authorized Hassler to proceed with

*An interesting reminiscence of his career in this period is contained in the diary of John Quincy Adams for July, 1815, where there is described an interview by himself, with Mr. Gallatin, at that time United States Minister in London, in which the latter spoke of Hassler, who had just left them.

"That is a man of great ability. He was sent by the Government to England, to procure the instruments for the general survey of our coast, but he has outrun his time and his funds, and his instruments cost £800 sterling more than was appropriated for them; and he is embarrassed now about getting back to America. I have engaged the Messrs. Baring to advance the money for the instruments, and he is to go for his own expenses upon his own credit. He has procured an excellent set of instruments."—Adams's "Memoirs," III., p. 248.

The circulars elicited by Hassler's plan are printed in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society for 1812, vol. II.

his work. In 1817 a beginning was made in the bay and harbor of New York, but Congress failed to provide for its continuance, and it was soon suspended, and in 1818, before the superintendent had the opportunity to publish a report upon the results of his last year's labor, Congress, on the plea "that the little progress hitherto made in the work had caused general dissatisfaction," ordered its discontinuance by repealing the law under which the superintendent had been appointed, and providing that no one should be employed in the survey of the coast except officers of the Army and Navy. This was practically a discontinuance of the work, because there was no one in America but Hassler who was capable of directing it.

Immediately after being thus legislated out of office, he was appointed one of the astronomers to represent the United States in the settlement of the Canadian boundary.

From 1819 to 1832, attempts were made at various times by the Navy Department to survey several portions of the coast. A few detached surveys were made, but no general systematic work was attempted, and the result was not on the whole creditable. In 1828 the Hon. S. L. Southard of New Jersey, at that time Secretary of the Navy, in response to resolutions of inquiry from the House of Representatives, admitted that the charts produced by the Navy were unreliable and unnecessarily expensive, and declaring also that the plan which had been employed was desultory and unproductive, recommended that the provisions of the law of 1807 should be resumed.

In 1832, Congress passed an act reorganizing the surveys on the old plan.

AN ACT TO CARRY INTO EFFECT THE ACT TO PROVIDE FOR A SURVEY OF THE COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted, etc., that for carrying into effect the act entitled, "An act to provide for surveying the coast of the United States," approved on the tenth day of February, eighteen hundred and seven, there shall be, and hereby is, appropriated a sum not exceeding twenty thousand dollars, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated; and the said act is hereby revised, and shall be to provide for the survey of the coast of Florida, in the same manner as if the same had been named direct.

SEC. 2. That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized, in and about the execution of the said act, to use all maps, charts, instruments, and apparatus which now, or hereafter may, belong to the United States, and employ all persons of the land and naval service of the United States, such as astronomers, and other persons as he shall think proper.

Hassler was now again appointed superintendent of the Coast Survey, and held his position until his death in 1843, the work for a short time, at first, being assigned to the Treasury Department, and in 1834 transferred to the Navy Department, and in 1836 again re-transferred to the Treasury, where it has since remained, its status being finally definitely settled by act of Congress passed in 1843, shortly before the appointment of Alexander Dallas Bache, as the successor of the first superintendent of the survey.

At the time of Hassler's death the survey had been extended from New York, where it was begun, eastward to Point Judith, and southward to Cape Henlopen.

It should be mentioned that in 1825, during the period of the suspension of activity, Hassler presented to the American Philosophical Society a memoir on the subject of the survey, which contained a full account of the plan, which he had adopted, a description of his instruments, and a history of what had been accomplished up to 1817. "This memoir," wrote Professor Henry in 1845, "was received with much favor by competent judges abroad, and the commendation bestowed upon it was of no little importance in the wakening of sentiments of national pride, which had considerable influence in assisting the passage of the act authorizing the renewal of the survey in 1832."

With the appointment of Bache as superintendent in 1843, the survey entered upon a new period of prosperity, the discussion of which is not within the province of this paper, and it seems appropriate to close this notice of the origin and early history of the organization by quoting from the first report of his successor an estimate of the value of Hassler's services.

"The Coast Survey," wrote Bache, "owes its present form and perhaps its existence to the zeal and scientific activity of the late superintendent, who devoted the energy of his life to it; and who, but for its interruption at a period when he was in the prime of manhood, and its suspension for nearly fifteen years, might have seen its completion. The difficult task of creating resources of practical science for carrying on such a work upon a suitable scale, required no common zeal and perseverance for its accomplishment, especially at a time when our country was far from having attained its present position of scientific acquirement, and when public opinion was hardly sufficiently enlightened to see the full advantage of clearness

in executing the work. For his successful struggle against great difficulties his adopted country will do honor to his memory as pioneer of a useful national undertaking."*

The history of the Coast Survey under the successive superintendentships of Bache [1843–1867], Peirce [1867–1874], Patterson [1874–1881], and Hilgard [1881–1887], would make a volume in itself. Under its present director, Professor Mendenhall, it is growing into renewed vigor and efficiency.

The Coast Survey was the last of the great scientific enterprises begun in Jefferson's administration. If the "Sage of Monticello" were now living, what delight he would feel in the manifold scientific activities of the nation. The enlightened policy of our Government in regard to scientific and educational institutions, is doubtless to a considerable degree due to his abiding influence.

"Nowhere in all the long course of Mr. Jefferson's great career," writes Henry Adams, "did he appear to better advantage than when, in his message of 1806, he held out to the country and the world that view of his ultimate hopes and aspirations for national development, which was, as he then trusted, to be his last bequest to mankind. Having now reached the moment when he must formally announce to Congress that the great end of relieving the nation from debt was at length within reach, and with it the duty of establishing true republican government was fulfilled, he paused to ask what use was to be made of the splendid future thus displayed before them. Should they do away with the taxes? Should they apply them to the building up of armies and navies? Both relief from taxation and the means of defense might be sufficiently obtained without exhausting their resources, and still the great interests of humanity might be secured. These great interests were economical and moral; to supply the one, a system of internal improvement should be created commensurate with the magnitude of the country; 'by these operations new channels of communication will be opened between the States, the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their union cemented by new and indissoluble ties.' To provide for the other, the higher education should be placed among the objects of public care; 'a public institution can alone supply those sciences which, though

*Report of Alexander Dallas Bache, Superintendent of the Coast Survey.

rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country and some of them to its preservation.' A national university and a national system of internal improvement were an essential part, and indeed the realization and fruit of the republican theories which Mr. Jefferson and his associates put in practice as their ideal of government."*

Madison's administration, which began in 1809, though friendly to science, was not characterized by any remarkable advances (except that the Coast Survey was actually organized for work under Hassler, after his return from Europe in 1816). The war of 1812 and the unsettled state of public affairs were not propitious to the growth of learned institutions.

Monroe became chief magistrate in 1817. He, like Madison, was a friend and follower of Jefferson, and in the atmosphere of national prosperity scientific work began to prosper, and there was a great accession of popular interest, and State geological surveys began to come into existence. Schoolcraft and Long led government expeditions into the West; the American Geological Society and the American Journal of Science were founded.

The city of Washington began to have intellectual interests, and public-spirited men organized the Columbian Institute and the Columbian University.

Monroe was not actually acquainted with science, but was

* Adam's "Life of Gallatin," pp. 349, 350. Henry Adams in this admirable biography has shown that Gallatin was one of Jefferson's strongest supporters in plans for the public enlightenment, and that he had an ambition of his own for the education of all citizens, without dis inction of classes.

"I had another favorite object in view," Gallatin writes, "in which I have failed. My wish was to devote what may remain of life to the establishment in this immense and fast-growing city (New York), of a general system of rational and practical education fitted for all and gratuitously opened to all. For it appeared to me impossible to preserve our democratic institutions and the right of universal suffrage unless we could raise the standard of general education and the mind of the laboring classes nearer to a level with those born under favorable circumstances. I became accordingly the president of the council of a new university, originally established on the most liberal principles. But finding that the object was no longer the same, and that their object, though laudable, was special and quite distinct from mine, I resigned at the end of one year rather than to struggle, probably in vain, for what was near unattainable."—*Op. cit.*, p. 648.

in hearty sympathy with it. When he visited New York, in 1817, he visited the New York Institution, and was received as an honorary member of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and in his reply to the address of Governor Clinton, its president, he remarked that "the honor, glory, and prosperity of the country were intimately connected with its literature and science, and that the promotion of knowledge would always be an object of his attention and solicitude."

The most important new enterprise was in the direction of organizing a national meteorological service.

The first move was made by Josiah Meigs, who was in 1814 appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office. With the exception of Franklin,* he was perhaps the earliest scientific meteorologist in America, having, while living in the Bermudas from 1789 to 1794, made a series of observations which he communicated to the Royal Society.†

In 1817, or before he began to advocate Congressional action for the establishment of meteorological registers in connection with the Land Office, writing to Dr. Daniel Drake in 1817, he said:

> If my plan be adopted, and the registers be furnished with the requisite instruments for temperature, pressure, rain, wind, etc., * * * we may, in the course of a year, know more than we shall be able to know on any other plan. (Page 82.)
>
> Without some system of this kind our country may be occupied for ages, and we the people of the United States be as ignorant on this subject as the *Kickapoos* now are, who have occupied it for ages past. (Page 83.)

In 1817 he also issued a circular to the registrars of the Land Offices of the several States, calling upon them to take regularly certain observations and make monthly official reports upon all meteorological phenomena.

In 1819 a co-operative movement was begun under the direction of Dr. Joseph Lovell, Surgeon-General of the Army, in connection with the medical officers at the principal military posts, by whom reports were made at the end of each month upon the temperature, pressure, and moisture of the air, the

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* See Benjamin Franklin's "Meteorological Imaginations and Conjectures," in the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.

Communications made at Passy (France), in 1784, and reported in the Pennsylvania Packet (in Congressional Library) of July 18, 1786.

† "Life of Josiah Meigs," p. 27.

amount of rain, the direction and force of the wind, the appearance of the sky, and other phenomena.

The Land Office circular was a remarkable one, and led to the extensive system of Patent Office observations, the results of which, published in connection with those of the War Department and the Smithsonian in 1859, formed the foundation of scientific meteorology in the United States.

In 1839 a most admirable paper by the French geologist, I. N. Nicollet, an "Essay on Meteorological Observations," was published under the direction of the Bureau of Topographical Engineering. Some years later the lake system of meteorological observations was established by the Engineer Department, under the direction of Capt. (afterwards General) George G. Meade. This included a line of stations extending from the western part of Lake Superior to the eastern part of Lake Ontario.

In 1835 a system of observations had been established under the direction of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, the points of observation being at the academies of the State, and in 1837 the legislature of Pennsylvania made an appropriation of $4,000 for instruments for use in meteorological observations, which were continued until about 1847. Those of New York were kept up until 1865 or later.

In the meantime, the idea of the pre-announcement of storms by telegraph was suggested in 1847 by W. C. Redfield, the discoverer of the law of storms, while Lieutenant Maury from 1851 onward, and especially at the International Meteorological Conference (held at his instance in Belgium in 1853) was promoting the establishment of a system of agricultural meteorology for farmers, and of daily weather reports by telegraph.*

In February, 1855, Leverrier obtained the sanction of the Emperor of France for the creation of an extensive organization for the purpose of distributing weather intelligence, though it was not till 1860 that he felt justified in making his work international.† In 1861 and in 1862 a similar organization was begun in England, under Admiral Fitzroy, which was extended a little later to India.

* "Maury's Life," p. 77.

† Scott, "Storm Warnings," London, 1883.

In the meantime all the essential features for the prediction of meteorological phenomena were in existence in the Smithsonian Institution as early as 1856, having grown up as the result of an extensive series of tabulations of observations recorded by volunteer observers in all parts of the country.

The following historical notes on weather telegraphy, prepared by Professor Cleveland Abbe in 1871,* give a summary of the progress of this work:

However frequently the idea may have been suggested of utilizing our knowledge by the employment of the electric telegraph, it is to Professor Henry and his assistants in the Smithsonian Institution that the credit is due of having first actually realized this suggestion.

The practical utilization of the results of scientific study is well known to have been in general greatly furthered by the labors of this noble institution, and from the very beginning Professor Henry has successfully advocated the feasibility of telegraphic storm warnings. The agitation of this subject in the United States during the years 1830–'55 may be safely presumed to have stimulated the subsequent action of the European meteorologists. It will be interesting to trace the gradual realization of the earlier suggestions of Redfield and Loomis in the following extracts from the annual Smithsonian reports of the respective years:

1847. "The extended lines of telegraph will furnish a ready means of warning the more northern and eastern observers to be on the watch for the first appearance of an advancing storm."

1848. "As a part of the system of meteorology, it is proposed to employ, as far as our funds will permit, the magnetic telegraph in the investigation of atmospherical phenomena. * * * The advantage to agriculture and commerce to be derived from a knowledge of the approach of a storm by means of the telegraph has been frequently referred to of late in the public journals; and this we think is a subject deserving the attention of the Government."

1849. "Successful applications have been made to the presidents of a number of telegraph lines to allow us at a certain period of the day the use of the wires for the transmission of meteorological intelligence * * * As soon as they [certain instructions, etc.] are completed, the transmission of observations will commence." (It was contemplated to constitute the telegraph operators the observers.)

1850. "This map [an outline wall-map] is intended to be used for presenting the successive phases of the sky over the whole country at different points of time, as far as reported."

1851. "Since the date of the last report the system particularly intended to investigate the nature of American storms immediately under the care of the Institution, has been continued and improved."

The system of weather reports thus inaugurated continued in regular operation until 1861, when the disturbed condition of the country rendered impossible its further continuance. Meanwhile, however, the study of

*American Journal of Science, July, 1871.

these daily morning reports had led to such a knowledge of the progress of our storms that in the report for 1857 Professor Henry writes:

1857. "We are indebted to the National Telegraph Line for a series of observations from New Orleans to New York and as far westward as Cincinnati, which have been published in the Evening Star, of this city.

"We hope in the course of another year to make such an arrangement with the telegraph lines as to be able to give warnings on the eastern coast of the approach of storms, since the investigations which have been made at the Institution fully indicate the fact that as a general rule the storms of our latitude pursue a definite course."

It would seem, therefore, that nothing but the disturbances of the late war prevented our having had, ten years ago, a valuable system of practical storm warnings. Even before peace had been proclaimed, Professor Henry sought to revive the systematic daily weather reports, and in August, 1864, at the meeting of the North American Telegraph Association (see their published report of proceeding), a paper was presented by Professor Baird, on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, requesting the privilege of the use of the telegraph lines, and more especially in order to enable Professor Henry "to resume and extend the weather bulletin, and to give warning of important atmospheric changes to our seaboard." In response to this communication, it was resolved, "That this association recommend—to pass free of charge—brief meteorological reports for the use and benefit of the Institution."

On the communication of this generous response preparations were at once made for the laborious undertaking, and the inauguration of the enterprise was fixed for the year 1865. In January of that year, however, occurred the disastrous fire which so seriously embarrassed the labors of the Smithsonian Institution for several following years. It became necessary to indefinitely postpone this meteorological work, which, indeed, had through its whole history been carried on with most limited financial means, and was quite dependent upon the liberal co-operation of the different telegraph companies.

It will thus be seen that without material aid from the Government, but through the enlightened policy of the telegraph companies, and with the assistance of the munificent bequest of James Smithson, "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge," the Smithsonian Institution, first in the world, organized a comprehensive system of telegraphic meteorology, and has thus given, first to Europe and Asia, and now to the United States, the most beneficent national application of modern science, the storm warnings.

In the report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1858 it is stated:

An object of much interest at the Smithsonian building is the daily exhibition on a large map of the condition of the weather over a considerable portion of the United States. The reports are received about 10 o'clock in the morning, and the changes are made on the map by temporarily attaching to the several stations pieces of card of different colors to note the different conditions of the weather, and the clearness, cloudiness, rain, or snow. This matter is not only of interest to visitors in exhibiting the

kind of weather which their friends at a distance are experiencing, but is also of importance in determining at a glance the probable changes which may soon be expected.*

In a still earlier report Professor Henry said:

We are indebted to the National Telegraph Line for a series of observations from New Orleans to New York, and as far westward as Cincinnati, Ohio, which have been published in the Evening Star, of this city. These reports have excited much interest, and could they be extended further north and more generally to the west, they would furnish important observations as to the approach of storms. We hope in the course of another year to make such an arrangement with the telegraph lines as to be able to give warning on the eastern coast of the approach of storms, since the investigations which have been made at the Institution fully indicate the fact that, as a general rule, the storms of our latitude pursue a definite course.†

In 1868, Cleveland Abbe, then director of the Cincinnati Observatory, revived the Smithsonian idea of meteorological forecasts, and suggested to the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce that Cincinnati should be made the headquarters of meteorological observation for the United States, "for the purpose of collecting and comparing telegraphic weather reports from all parts of the land and making deductions therefrom." His proposals were favorably received, and he began, September 1, 1869, to issue the "Weather Bulletin of the Cincinnati Observatory," which he continued until, in January, 1871, he was summoned to Washington to assist in organizing the national meteorological service, with which he has ever since been identified.

The Smithsonian meteorological system continued its functions until it was finally consigned to the custody of the Chief Signal Officer of the Army. Like all the efforts of this Institution, this work was in the direction of supplementing and harmonizing the work of all others, and attention was especially devoted to preparing and distributing blank forms in this direction, calculating and publishing extensive papers for systematizing observations, introducing standard instruments, collecting all public documents, printed matter, and manuscript records bearing on the meteorology of the American Continent, submitting these materials for scientific discussion, and publishing their results. The Smithsonian work was, dur-

* "Thirteenth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution," p. 32. (1858.)

† "Twelfth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1857," p. 26. Also, "Twentieth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1865," pp. 54–57.

ing its whole existence, under the immediate personal direction of Professor Henry, assisted by Professor Arnold Guyot, who, in 1850, prepared and published an exhaustive series of directions for meteorological observations, intended for the first class observers co-operating with the Smithsonian Institution.

The seeds planted by the army in 1819 began to bear perfect fruit fifty years later, when by act of Congress, in 1870, the Secretary of War was authorized to carry into effect a scheme for "giving notice by telegraph and signals of the approach and force of storms," and the organization of a meteorological bureau adequate to the investigation of American storms, and their pre-announcement along the northern lakes and the sea-coast was, under the auspices of the War Department, trusted to the Chief Signal Officer of the Army, Brig.-Gen. Albert J. Myer, and a division created in his office, was designated as the "Division of Telegrams and Reports for the Benefit of Commerce."

By a subsequent act of Congress, approved June 10, 1872, the Signal Service was charged with the duty of providing such stations, signals, and reports as might be found necessary for extending its research in the interest of agriculture. In 1873, the work of the bureau of the division having been eminently successful, and its successes having been recognized abroad as well as in this country, Congress, by a further act, authorized the establishment of signal-service stations at the light-houses and life-saving stations on the lake sea-coasts, and made provision for connecting them with telegraph lines or cables, "to be constructed, maintained, and worked under the direction of a chief signal officer of the Army, or the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury," and in this year also was begun the publication of a monthly Weather Review, summarizing in a popular way all its data showing the result of its investigations, as well as presenting these in graphic weather charts.

In 1874 the entire system of Smithsonian weather observation in all parts of the United States was transferred by Professor Henry to the Signal Service. A few months previously, at the proposal of the Chief Signal Officer, in the International Congress of Meteorologists convened at Vienna, the system of world-wide co-operative simultaneous weather observations, since then so extensively developed, was inaugurated, and began to contribute its data to the signal-office records. It is un-

necessary to trace further the history of the beginning of the meteorological work of the Signal Service, but I doubt not that every one at all familiar with its subsequent history, under the leadership of Generals Hazen and Greely, will agree with the opinion of Judge Daly, the president of the American Geographical Society, when he said that "nothing in the nature of scientific investigation by the National Government has proved so acceptable to the people, or has been so productive in so short a time of such important results, as the establishment of the Signal-Service Bureau."*

The sixth President, John Quincy Adams, a man of culture broad and deep, found the presidency of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences so congenial to his tastes and sympathies that he did not hesitate to say that he prized it more highly than the chief magistracy of the nation. He considered his most important achievement to be the "Report on Weights and Measures," prepared for Congress in 1818, and was justly proud of it, for it was a very admirable piece of scientific work, and is still considered the most important treatise on the subject ever written.

John Quincy Adams revived Washington's national university project, and made battle valiantly for an astronomical observatory.

In his first message to Congress afterward, he said:

> Among the first, perhaps the very first, instrument for the improvement of the condition of men is knowledge; and to the acquisition of much of the knowledge adapted to the wants, the comforts, and enjoyments of human life, public institutions and seminaries of learning are essential. So convinced of this was the first of my predecessors in this office, now first in the memory, as living he was first in the hearts, of our country, that once and again, in his addresses to the Congresses with whom he co-operated in the public service, he earnestly recommended the establishment of seminaries of learning, to prepare for all the emergencies of peace and war, a National University and a Military Academy. With respect to the latter, had he lived to the present day, in turning his eyes to the institution at West Point, he would have enjoyed the gratification of his most earnest wishes. But in surveying the city which has been honored with his name, he would have seen the spot of earth which he had destined and bequeathed to the use and benefit of his country as the site for a University, still bare and barren.†

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* 1883, History of the United States Signal Service, with catalogue of its exhibit at the International Fisheries Exhibition. London, 1883; Washington City, 1883; octavo pp. 1–28.

† John Quincy Adams, in his diary for November, 1825, describes an inter-

And again:

Connected with the establishment of a university, or separate from it, might be undertaken the erection of an astronomical observatory, with provision for the support of an astronomer, to be in constant attendance of observance upon the phenomena of the heavens; and for the periodical publications of his observations. It is with no feeling of pride, as an American, that the remark may be made that, on the comparatively small territorial surface of Europe, there are existing upward of one hundred and thirty of these light-houses of the skies; while throughout the whole American hemisphere there is but one. If we reflect a moment upon the discoveries which, in the last four centuries, have been made in the physical constitution of the universe by the means of these buildings, and of observers stationed in them, shall we doubt of their usefulness to every nation? And while scarcely a year passed over our heads without bringing some new astronomical discovery to light, which we must fain receive at Second-hand from Europe, are we not cutting ourselves off from the means of returning light for light, while we have neither observatory nor observer upon our half of the globe, and the earth revolves in perpetual darkness to our unsearching eyes?

This appeal was received with shouts of ridicule; and the proposal "to establish a light house in the skies" became a common by-word which has scarcely yet ceased to be familiar. So strong was public feeling that, in the year 1832, in reviving

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view with his Cabinet, and the discussion which followed the reading of his message before it was finally revised for sending to Congress.

"Mr. Clay wished to have the recommendations of a National University * * * struck out * * * The University, Mr. Clay said, was entirely hopeless, and he thought there was something in the constitutional objection to it. * * * I concurred entirely in the opinion that no projects absolutely impracticable ought to be recommended; but I would look to a practicability of a longer reign than a simple session of Congress. General Washington had recommended the Military Academy more than ten years before it was obtained. The plant may come late, though the seed should be sown early. And I had not recommended a University. I had referred to Washington's recommendations, and observed they had not been carried into effect."

Such opinions as these of Mr. Clay were evidently very much at variance with those of John Quincy Adams and of his illustrious father, whose action in the constitutional convention of Massachusetts has already been referred to, and at variance as well, it would seem, with the opinion of the early Republicans, as with those of the Federalists. The views of Washington and Madison, as well as those of Jefferson and Barlow, on these subjects have already been referred to.

Mr. Adams, in commenting upon an address delivered by Edward Everett before the Columbian Institute, January 16, 1830, remarks:

"I regretted to hear a seeming admission that the powers of giving encouragement to literature and science were greater at least in State governments than in that of the Union." Vol. vii., p. 171.

an act for the continuance of the survey of the coast, Congress made a proviso, that "nothing in the act should be construed to authorize the construction or maintenance of a permanent astronomical observatory."*

Nothing daunted, Mr. Adams continued the struggle, and while a member of the House of Representatives, after his presidential term had expired, he battled for the observatory continually and furiously. An oration delivered by him in Cincinnati, in 1843, closed with these words:

Is there one tower erected to enable the keen eyed observer of the heavenly vault to watch from night to night, through the circling year, the movements of the starry heavens and their unnumbered worlds? Look around you, look from the St. John to the Sabine, look from the mouth of the Neversink to the mouth of the Columbia, and you will find not one! or if one, not of our erection.

A correspondent of the London Athenæum, writing from Boston in May, 1840, spoke at length of the dearth of observatories in the United States, and of the efforts of John Quincy Adams to form a national astronomical establishment in connection with the Smithson bequest. The letter is of great interest as showing the state of opinion on scientific matters in America just half a century ago.

BOSTON, *May*, 1840.

One of the prominent subjects of discussion among our savans is the establishment of observatories of a character suitable to our standing as a civilized nation, and still more to our exigencies as a practical, and especially as a commercial community. I verily believe that the yearly damage and destruction along our coast, for want of the securities which such institutions would supply, out-balances, beyond comparison, all it would cost to establish and maintain them in every principal city of the land. It is partly a sort of electioneering economy which leaves things thus, and which has hitherto refused or neglected to fit out exploring expeditions; to accumulate national treasures of art and science, and facilities for their prosecution; and generally to pursue a system of "in-breeding and cherishing," as Milton has it, "in a great people, the seeds of virtue and public civility;" excepting always what is done for the diffusion of elementary popular education. This education, to be sure, and this diffusion of it, we are taught to regard as necessaries in our moral and social being—the "staff

* It is interesting to know that in 1827, Mr. James Courtenay, of Charleston, published a pamphlet, an urgent plea for the establishment of a naval observatory. I am indebted to Mr. William A. Courtenay for the opportunity to examine this rare tract, which has the following title:

1827. COURTENAY, JAMES. An | Inquiry | into | the Propriety | of | establishing | a | National Observatory. | = | By James Courtenay, | of Charleston, South Carolina | = | — | Charleston, Printed by W. Riley, 125 Church-Street | — | 1827. 8° pp. 1-24.—

of public life" among us. And we are right. It is so. But there are many other things which we have not been taught to appreciate as they deserve, and the value of which we have gradually to grope our way to. Their day, however, will come; though it can not be expected that either a government or a people so youthful, so hurried, so fluctuating, can reach at once to the graces and the "fair humanities" of the Old World. Remember that the "United States" are only some half-century old; and remember what we have been obliged to do and to suffer meanwhile, and under what circumstances. But, as I said before, the time is coming, if not come, when the heart of the nation shall acknowledge what is the high duty and destiny of a country like this; and then, I need not tell you, all is accomplished. Congress and the Government must always represent the general as well as the political character of the nation. It will be refined, scientific, public-spirited, or otherwise, as are the people. At this moment, as at all times, the representative and the represented, bear this relation to each other as intimately as might be expected from the nature of our institutions; and hence, from the signs which have appeared in the legislative bodies, I derive hope, and feel authorized to say what I have said of the advance, throughout our community, of what may be called the graceful and genial system of civilization, as distinguished from the practical and hard. This subject of observatories is quite in point. True, nothing has yet been done, but then a good deal has been said; and that is much: it is, in fact, doing much, in a case like this. It was something for Congress to bear being told what they had neglected, and patiently to discuss the subject.

The principal agent in bringing the subject forward has been Ex-President Adams, who, as you may be aware, is still an M. C., at the age of between seventy and eighty, and one of the halest and hardiest men in that body. His spirit is equal to his iron constitution. He spares himself no labor. So well is this understood that it has been of late rather a practice to select the old gentleman for special burdens; and there are many matters of legislative action which he really understands better, or knows better at least how to explore and determine, than any member of the House. Thus the observatory business came upon him, at least indirectly; for, to some extent, he brought it on himself. You are, no doubt, familiar with the the history of the great Smithsonian bequest. When that business came before Congress, and especially as it was not a party one, all eyes were turned on Mr. Adams, and he was appointed chairman of the committee. In this capacity he has made sundry reports: the last and ablest reviews the whole subject. In this he labors to show what general appropriation ought to be made of the fund—for that is not yet determined—and then to sustain a special recommendation, which is, to devote the income for about ten years to an observatory, to be founded on national land, at Washington, "adapted to the most effective and continual observations of the phenomena of the heavens, and to be provided with the necessary, best, and most perfect instruments and books for the periodical publication of the said observations, and for the annual composition and publication of a Nautical Almanac." The details of the plan may be omitted. Many, however, of the statistics connected with them, are new to us here, and of interest, including a report on the British establishments, furnished, on request, by the Astronomer Airy. To a greater extent these may be familiar to English readers,

but perhaps not wholly so. I hope they do not know, for example, how much we deserve, as compared with other nations, the caustic strictures and lectures of Mr. Adams, who really gives us no quarter, being resolved not to spoil the child by sparing the rod, but rather to provoke us to find a remedy for the evils he describes. You yourself adverted, not long since, to the state of things among us, but only in general terms. The facts are these: They have a small observatory in process of erection at Tuscaloosa, Ala., for the use of the university in that place. Professor Hopkins, of Williams College, Massachusetts, has a little establishment of the sort, and this is about all in that State—all in New England! The only other establishment in the United States, known to me, is that in the Western Reserve College, Ohio, under the charge of Professor Loomis. Nothing of the kind at our national seat of government, or anywhere near it! Even Harvard University, "with all its antiquity, revenue, science, and renown," has thus far failed, though it appears that they are breaking ground at Cambridge; a house or houses having been purchased and fitted up, and one of our "savans" is already engaged in a series of magnetic and other observations. Now, how stands the case on your side the water? Why, in the British Islands alone, there are observatories at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford—at Edinburgh and Glasgow, in Scotland—and at Dublin and Armagh, in Ireland—all receiving some patronage from the Government—to say nothing of an observatory at the Cape of Good Hope, or of the establishments on the various remote and widely-separated dependencies of the British Empire, including Van Dieman's Land, for the furnishing of which, we understand, arrangements have been made in connection with Captain Ross's expedition. In France, I believe, the provision is not less ample. On this part of the subject Mr. Adams merely remarks that the history of the Royal Observatory of that country would show the benefits conferred on mankind by the slightest notice bestowed on the rulers on the pursuit of knowledge, and that "the names of the four Cassinis would range in honorable distinction by the side of Flamsteed, Bradley, and Maskelyne."

Special reference is of course made to Greenwich, and Mr. Adams takes much pains to show how much that institution has done for science and for man. After recapitulating how to preserve observations, we are indebted for a fixed standard for the measurement of time,—how, by the same science, man has acquired, so far as he possesses it, a standard for the measurement of space, he observes, that the minutest of these observations contribute to the "increase and diffusion of knowledge" (the expressed object in Smithson's bequest). As to the more brilliant, we are reminded of an observation of Voltaire, that if the whole human race could be assembled from the creation of man to this time, in gradation of genius, Isaac Newton would stand at their head; and the discoveries of Newton were the results of calculations, founded on the observations of others—of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Flamsteed. Greenwich has been considered rather an expensive establishment (among us), but Mr. Adams shows that, though costly, it has not been profitless.

Not to enter further into details of European countries, it appears that there are about one hundred and twenty observatories in Continental Europe; and that the most magnificent of them all has been lately founded

by the Czar in the vicinity of his capital: an enterprise sufficiently glorious, Mr. Adams observes, for the sovereign of such an empire; but the merit of which is enhanced by the fact of its being undertaken and accomplished in such a latitude and climate:—"a region so near the pole, that it offers to the inspection of the human eye only a scanty portion of the northern hemisphere, with an atmosphere so chilled with cold and obscured with vapors, that it yields scarcely sixty days in the year when observation of the heavenly bodies is practicable." This fact, it must be allowed, is rather an aggravation, or ought to be, to us republicans, some among whom affect to be special despisers of the bigoted Nicholas, and all his works. It seems, too, that Mehemet Ali has come forward as the patron of philosophical inquiry.

Thus matters stand at present, and Mr. Adams strongly urges prompt, practical action; and this scheme, with some modifications, and after our customary delays and discussions (in Congress) will be carried into execution, at least to a respectable extent. I am the more inclined to the opinion as it has been made clear in the progress of discussion that the establishments referred to need not be so enormously expensive as they generally are. In this matter we have been misled and discouraged by your example, among others. We found that Cambridge observatory cost £20,000, and that, among the instruments, the price of the mural circle alone was over £1,000, to say nothing of an equatorial telescope at £750, or a transit instrument £600, and that as to Greenwich, the annual expenses, including salaries, repairs, and printing, exceeded £3,000. Now, this may be "sport for you," but it knocked our calculations on the head. Our ideas are not yet enlarged to that extreme point. To be sure, we can spend money for Florida wars; nay, for better things—for internal improvements—for bridges over the Ohio River (St. Louis) or for market-houses and meeting-houses of most liberal dimensions—for whatever, in a word, is practical—as we understand it—and especially so much of it as private enterprise can execute without calling in Government aid:—but ask for the adornments and muniments of art and science, in the ornamental or even in the scholar-like way, and it must be acknowledged the "sovereign people" move slow; they button their breeches' pockets and begin to "calculate." As to the Observatories, however, the case is better, for we find that much can be done at small expense. An establishment of the merely useful kind may be set up for a trifle. Not that Mr. Adams proposes to establish the National Observatory on such a scale. On the contrary, he thinks the Smithson fund should be devoted to it for the present, and that not less than ten years of the income will be required. A more explicit estimate is also added, but it will be sufficient to observe that it comprises, besides a salary of $3,600 for the astronomer, funds for the compensation of four assistants, at $1,500 each, and two laborers, each at $600; for the purchase and procurement of instruments, $30,000; of which $20,000 might be applied for an assortment of the best instruments to be procured, and $10,000 for a fund, from the interest of which other instruments may be from time to time procured, and for repairs; for the library, $30,000; being $10,000 for first supply, and $20,000 for a fund for an income of $12,000 a year; and finally $30,000 for a fund, from the income of which $1,800 a year, shall go to defray the expenses of the yearly publication of the observation and of a Nautical Almanac.

It was the idea of Mr. Adams, in his later days, that the Smithson bequest, or, at least, its income for ten years, should be applied to the foundation of a national observatory and the publication of the "Nautical Almanac," and he only abandoned it when an observatory had actually been established under the Navy Department, in connection with the Department of Charts and Instruments.

The establishment of an observatory had, indeed, been prominent in the minds of Washington and Jefferson, and was definitely proposed in Barlow's plan for a national institution, as well as in the project for a coast survey, submitted in 1837, in which it was proposed that there should be two observatories, formed at a fixed point, around which the survey, and particularly the nautical part of it, should be referred, their situation preferably to be in the State of Maine or lower Louisiana, since from them every celestial object observable, from the tropics to the Arctic circle, and within about twenty degrees of longitude, could be observed. Still, however, since various considerations might occasion the desire of placing one of these observatories in the city of Washington, just as observatories had been placed in the principal capitals of Europe, as a national object of scientific ornament as well as a means for nourishing science in general, Hassler conceded that it might there be placed, since it would then be the proper place for the deposit of the standards of weights and measures, which also makes a special part the collection of instruments. James Monroe, when Secretary of State, in 1812, strongly urged upon Congress the establishment of an observatory, urging, first, the necessity of establishing a first meridian for the continent, and, in the second place, the fact that every enlightened nation had already established such an institution of learning. The immediate occasion for the intervention of the Secretary of State was the memorial of William Lambert, of Virginia, which was presented at various times from 1810 to 1821, and was accompanied by an elaborate report in 1822.

The action of Congress during the Adams administration has been referred to. In 1830, Mr. Vance, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy under Jackson, strongly urged the establishment of an observatory for general astronomical purposes.

The beginning of the observatory seems to have been actually made on Capitol Hill during Mr. Adams's administration, under instruction of Astronomers Lambert and Elliott, em-

ployed by Congress to determine the longitude of Washington. The President, in his diary of 1825, described a visit to Capitol Hill, in company with Colonel Roberdeau, and spoke of witnessing an observation of the passage of the sun over the meridian, made with a small transit instrument. This instrument was very probably the one obtained by Hassler in Europe in 1815, which he never was permitted to use in connection with the coast survey work, and which passed into the hands of Lieutenant Wilkes in 1834, when it was placed in the small observatory, erected at his own expense, about a thousand feet north of the dome of the Capitol.

It was at this establishment, which was known as the "naval depot of instruments," that the five-foot transit was used, mainly for the purpose of reading the naval chronometer. When Wilkes went to sea with his expedition in 1837, Lieut. James M. Gilliss became superintendent of the depot, and having obtained a 42-inch astronomical telescope, commenced a series of observations on the culmination of the moon and stars. In 1842 the establishment of a permanent depot of charts and instruments was authorized by Congress, and although the establishment of an observatory was not authorized in the bill, every effort was made by Lieutenant Gilliss and others interested in his work to secure suitable accommodations for astronomical work, and his plans having been approved by President Tyler, work was begun on the Naval Observatory, now known as the National Observatory.

There can be little doubt that the excellence of the work done by Gilliss himself, with his limited opportunities, did much to hasten the establishment of the observatory, and there is in this connection a traditional history. Encke's Comet appeared in 1842, and was promptly observed by him. He read a paper concerning it before the National Institute. Senator Preston, an enthusiastic member of that organization, was present at the meeting. When Gilliss, still a very young man, shortly afterward made a visit to the Senate committee-room, the Senator remarked to him: "If you are the one who gave us notice of the comet, I will do all I can to help you."

A week afterwards a bill passed the Senate and the House without formal discussion. The appropriation was $25,000, and although it was expressly for the establishment of a depot of charts and instruments, the report of the commit-

tee which had secured it was so emphatically in favor of astronomical, meteorological, and magnetic work that the Secretary of the Navy felt justified in assuming that Congress had sanctioned the broadest project for an observatory. Gilliss was at once sent abroad to obtain instruments and plans, while Lieut. Matthew F. Maury was placed in charge of the depot, and when the observatory was completed in 1844 became its superintendent.

Maury's attitude towards astronomical work has been severely criticised, and, I think, misunderstood. He was, first of all, an enthusiastic officer of the Navy; second, an astronomer, and he deemed it appropriate that the chief effort of the office should be directed toward work which had a direct professional bearing. Although not neglecting astronomy (for under his direction two volumes of astronomical observations were published), his own attention, and oftentimes that of almost the entire office was devoted to hydrographic subjects. The work which he had accomplished was of the greatest practical importance to navigation, and nothing of a scientific nature up to that time accomplished in America received such universal attention and praise from abroad.

His personal popularity and his influence were very great, and the necessity for the maintenance of a national observatory was not in his day fully appreciated by the public. It is not at all impossible that, indirectly, through his meteorological and hydrographic work, he may have done more for the ultimate and permanent welfare of the National Observatory than could have been possible through exclusive attention to work of a purely astronomical character.

In 1861 Gilliss again became the superintendent, and under his direction the Observatory took rank among the first in the world.

Before leaving the subject of the Observatory, reference should be made to astronomical work almost national in character accomplished in colonial days at Philadelphia under the direction of the American Philosophical Society, by which a committee of thirteen was appointed to make observations upon the transit of Venus in 1769.

Three temporary observatories were built, one in Philadelphia, one at Norristown, and one at Cape Henlopen. Instruments were imported from England, one of them a reflecting telescope with a Dollond micrometer, purchased in London by

Dr. Franklin with money voted by the assembly of Pennsylvania. The transit was successfully observed and an elaborate report was published.

This enterprise is worthy of mention, because it was the first serious astronomical work ever undertaken in this country. Being under the auspices of the only scientific society then in existence, it was in some sense a national effort. Had not the Revolution taken place, it would undoubtedly have resulted in the establishment of a well equipped observatory in this country under the auspices of the home government. Dr. Thomas Ewing, the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, who seems to have been the first to propose the observations of 1769, and under whose direction they were carried on, visited London a few years later, and while there made interest with Lord North, the Prime-Minister, and with Mr. Maskelyne, the Astronomer-Royal, for the establishment of an observatory in Philadelphia, and that his efforts gave great promise of success may be shown by the letter here presented, addressed to him by Mr. Maskelyne in 1775.

GREENWICH, *August* 4, 1775.

SIR: I received your late favor, together with your observations of the comet of 1770, and some (copies) of that of 1769, for which I thank you. I shall communicate (them) to the Royal Society as you give me leave. In the present unhappy situation of American affairs, I have not the least idea that anything can be done towards erecting an observatory at Philadelphia, and therefore can not think it proper for me to take a part in any memorial you may think proper to lay before my Lord North at present. I do not mean, however, to discourage you from presenting a memorial from yourself. Were an observatory to be erected in that city, I do not know any person there more capable of taking care of it than yourself. Should Lord North do me the honor to ask my opinion about the utility of erecting an observatory at Philadelphia, I should then be enabled to speak out, being always a well-wisher to the promotion of science. You did not distinguish whether the times of your observations were apparent or mean time.

I am, your most humble servant,

N. MASKELYNE.

Rev. Dr. EWING,
No. 25, Ludgate Street.

In this connection mention should be made of the extended astronomical work done from 1763 to 1767, by Charles Mason, an assistant of Maskelyne, and Jeremiah Dixon, while surveying the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and especially of the successful measurement by them of a

meridian of latitude. Mason was a man of high scientific standing, but, though he became a citizen of Philadelphia, where he died in 1787, little is known of him beyond the record of his scientific work. He had been one of the observers of a transit of Venus at the Cape of Good Hope in 1761, and it was no doubt he who inspired the American Philosophical Society to its effort in 1769.

Another event in the Adams administration was the beginning of the National Botanic Garden. The foundation of such an institution was one of the earliest of the projects for the improvement of the capital. Washington decided that it should be closely connected with the National University, on the site now occupied by the National Observatory, and stipulated that, should this site not be found available, another spot of ground, appropriated on the early maps to a marine hospital, might be substituted. The Columbian Institute, already referred to, had begun the formation of an arboretum as early as 1822, and in 1829 applied unsuccessfully to Congress for an appropriation to re-imburse it for its expenditures. There was, however, no definite foundation until 1852, when the numerous living plants which had been brought back by the Wilkes Exploring Expedition in the Pacific, and which had for several years been kept in greenhouses adjoining the Patent Office, in which the natural-history collections of the expedition were kept, were removed to the present site of the Botanical Garden on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue just west of the Capitol. This garden was first under the direction of Mr. W. D. Brackenridge, who had been the horticulturist of the Wilkes Expedition. Mr. Brackenridge was succeeded by Mr. William R. Smith, a pupil of the Kew Botanical Garden, who has since been in charge of the establishment, and through whose industry it has been developed into a most creditable institution, which, it is hoped, may in time have an opportunity to exhibit its merits in a more suitable and less crowded locality.

Under Jackson, from 1829 to 1837, notwithstanding the remarkable commercial prosperity, and an almost equal advance in literature, science did not prosper, and of actual progress there is little to record. The Coast survey was reorganized under its original superintendent, Hassler, in 1832, and Featherstonehaugh, an English geologist, made, in 1834, a reconnoissance in the elevated region between the Missouri and the Red River.

Van Buren's administration, which began in 1837 and ended in 1841, presents more points of interest, for although the country was in a state of financial depression, his Cabinet was composed of extremely liberal and public-spirited men. Poinsett as Secretary of War, Kennedy as Secretary of the Navy, and other public men did much to promote science.

The United States Exploring Expedition was sent out under Capt. Charles Wilkes, on a voyage of circumnavigation. Although published in an extremely limited edition, the magnificent volumes of its report are among the classics of scientific exploration.

The Wilkes Expedition was the first of a series of naval explorations which have contributed largely to science—Lynch's "Dead Sea Expedition," Gilliss's "Naval Astronomical Expedition" to Chili, Herndon and Gibbons's "Exploration of the Valley of the Amazons," Page's Paraguay Expedition, the "Cruise of the Dolphin," Perry's Japan Expedition, Rogers's North Pacific Exploring Expedition, and the various expeditions made under the Hydrographic Office and the Coast Survey.

In 1840 two important national societies were founded, the National Institution for the Promotion of Science, and the American Society of Geologists and Naturalists,—the one an association with a great membership, scientific and otherwise, including a large number of government officials; the other composed exclusively of professional naturalists.

The purpose of each was the advancement of the scientific interests of the nation, which seemed more likely to receive substantial aid, now that the money bequeathed by Smithson was lying in the Treasury vaults, waiting to be used.

The National Institution under the leadership of Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, then Secretary of War, assisted by General J. J. Abert, F. A. Markoe, and others, had a short but brilliant career, which endured until the close of the Tyler administration, and had an important influence on public opinion, bringing about in the minds of the people and of Congress a disposition to make proper use of the Smithson bequest, and which also did much to prepare the way for the National Museum. The extensive collections of the National Institution and those of the Wilkes Expedition, and other government surveys were in time merged with those of the Smithsonian Institution, and having been greatly increased at the

close of the Centennial Exposition, began in 1879 to receive substantial support from Congress.

The Society of Geologists was not so prominent at the time, but it has had a longer history, for in 1850 it became the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Although it dated its origin from 1840, it was essentially a revival and continuation of the old American Geological Society, organized September 6, 1819, in the Philosophical Room of Yale College, and in its day a most important body. Its members, following European usage, appended to their names the symbols "M. A. G. S.," and among them were many distinguished men, for at that time almost every one who studied any other branch of science, cultivated geology also.

The American Association prepared the way for the National Academy of Sciences, which was established by Congress in 1863, having for its first president, Alexander Dallas Bache, who in his presidential address at the second meeting of the American Association, twelve years before, had pointed out the fact that "an institution of science supplementary to existing ones is much needed to guide public action in reference to scientific matters," * and whose personal influence was very potent in bringing that institution into existence. In advocating before Congress the plan for the National Academy of Sciences, Senator Sumner avowedly followed the lead of Joel Barlow, the projector of the National Institution in 1806.†

The system of national scientific organizations, thus inaugurated, is still expanding. Within the past few years, there have sprung into existence a considerable number of learned societies devoted to special subjects, usually with unlocalized

* "Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1851," pp. 6 and 48.

† The idea of an Academy of Sciences with unlocalized membership and, like the Royal Society and the French Academy, holding advisory relations with the general government, appears to have been present in the minds of many of the early statesmen. Washington, in his project for a great national university, doubtless intended to include every thing of this kind. Joel Barlow and Thomas Jefferson at the beginning of the century were engaged in correspondence "about learned societies, universities and public instruction." John Adams in a letter to Cutler, dated Quincy, May 1, 1802, referred to a scheme for the establishment of a national academy of arts and sciences, in which Mitchell, of New York, was interested, and which was to come up for discussion at a meeting in that city in the following month. Life of Manasseh Cutler, ii., p. 87.

membership, and holding meetings from year to year in different cities. Among these are those named below:

The American Anatomical Society.
The American Dialect Society.
The American Folk-lore Society.
The American Geographical Society (of New York) and the National Geographic Society (of Washington).
The American Geological Society.
The American Historical Association.
The American Institute of Mining Engineers.
The American Meteorological Society.
The American Metrological Society.
The American Oriental Society.
The American Ornithologists' Union.
The American Philological Association.
The American Physiological Society.
The American Society of Naturalists.
The American Society for Psychical Research.
The Archæological Institute of America.
The Botanical Club of the American Association.
The Franklin Institute.

That the organization of such societies had been so long delayed, was perhaps due to the fact that during the first six decades of the century the number of scientific investigators was comparatively small, and scientific work of original character was confined to a few of the large cities, so that local organizations, supplemented by the annual summer meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, answered all needs. Since the close of the civil war, and of the period of ten years which elapsed before our country was restored to commercial prosperity, and indeed before it had begun to fully feel the effects of the great scientific renaissance which originated in 1859 with the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species," there has been a great increase in the number of persons whose time is chiefly devoted to original scientific work.

Nothing has contributed so materially to this state of affairs as the passage by Congress in 1862 of the bill, introduced by the Hon. Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, to establish scientific and industrial educational institutions in every State, supplemented in 1887 by the Hatch bill for the founding of the agricultural experiment stations.* The movement was at first unpopular among American educators, but after a quarter of a century of trial the land-grant college system has not only demonstrated its right to exist, but is by many regarded as

* See App. D, and also A. C. True's "A Brief Account of the Experiment Station Movement in the United States," U. S. Department of Agriculture, Experiment Station Bulletin No. 1, 1889, pp. 73–78.

forming one of the chief strongholds of our national scientific prosperity.*

One of the most important effects of the movement has been to stimulate the establishment of State scientific schools and universities, and every one of the forty-two commonwealths has already a university or a college performing, or intended to perform, university functions.

It is worthy of remark that with six exceptions every State has in less than twenty years of its admission had a State college or university of its own. Only twelve have delayed more than ten years, and fifteen have come into the Union already equipped. Ten of these were colonies and original States. All but one of the remainder were those admitted in 1889, for each of our four new States was provided with the nucleus of a State university before it sought admission to the Union. Twenty-eight of the State and Territorial universities had their origin in land-grants from the General Government other than those for agricultural and mechanical colleges.†

The completeness of the State system of scientific educational institutions is in marked contrast with that of the scientific societies in the same States, organized by the direct action of the people rather than by government.

Academies of science bearing the names of the States of our

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† The following statements were made in a report of the Committee of the House of Representatives, March 3, 1886:

"The act appropriating script to the amount of 30,000 acres for each Senator and Representative in Congress for the endowment of colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, which was passed in 1862, has been fruitful. Some of the States endowed single colleges, while others divided the gift between two or three. There were 17,430,000 acres of script and land granted, and the fund arising from their sales is $7,545,405. This has been increased by gifts from the States and from benevolent individuals of grounds, buildings, and apparatus to the amount of $5,000,000 more. And the last reports show that these colleges employed more than four hundred professors, and had under instruction more than four thousand students. This donation of the public funds has been eminently profitable for the Government and the country. Many thousands of young men educated in science have already gone out from their colleges to engage in the practical duties of life, and the provision is made for sending out a continued succession of these for all future time. And as science is not limited by State boundaries, it makes but little difference for the common good which of these institutions or States these graduates come from; their attainments are for the common good."

† See Appendix E, and also F. W. Blackmar's "History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education," etc., Washington, 1890.

confederation and often sanctioned by their laws, may be regarded as in some sense national. Although nearly all of our States have historical societies, only twelve of the forty-two have academies of science, or organizations which are their equivalent. That there should be in 1889 thirty States without academies of science, and fourteen States and Territories in which there are no scientific societies of any description whatever, is a noteworthy fact.*

During Van Buren's presidency, the Department of Agriculture had its formal beginning.

The chief promoter of this idea was Henry L. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Commissioner of Patents, whose efforts culminated twenty-six years later in the establishment of a department, and, after another period of twenty-six years, in the elevation of the head of that department to the dignity of a Cabinet officer. Ellsworth began work by distributing seeds and plants for experimental culture, acquiring these without expense, and sending them out under the franks of friendly Congressmen. After three years (in 1839) Congress recognized the value of the work in this direction by appropriating $1,000 from the Patent Office fund to enable him to collect and distribute seeds, to collect agricultural statistics, and to make agricultural investigations. Appointed by Jackson in 1836, Ellsworth served through the two successive terms of Van

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*The following is a list of those already in existence:

STATE ACADEMIES OF SCIENCE, ETC., 1890.

California.—The California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, 1854.

Columbia.—The Affiliated Scientific Societies of Washington City; The Philosophical Society, 1871; The Anthropological Society, 1879; The Biological Society, 1880; The Chemical Society, 1889; The National Geographic Society, 1888.

Connecticut.—The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1799.

Indiana.—The Indiana Academy of Sciences, 1885.

Iowa.—The Iowa Academy of Sciences, Iowa City, 1875.

Kansas.—The Kansas Academy of Science, Topeka, 1868.

Maryland.—The Maryland Academy of Sciences, Baltimore, 1822.

Massachusetts.—The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, 1780.

Minnesota.—The Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences, Minneapolis, 1873.

Missouri.—The St. Louis Academy of Science, St. Louis, 1857.

New York.—The New York Academy of Science, New York City, 1817.

Pennsylvania.—The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1743.

Wisconsin.—Wisconsin Academy of Arts, Science, and Letters, Madison, 1870.

Buren and Tyler, and in his nine years of official work his devotion to the interests of agriculture produced excellent results, and placed the service on a firm foundation. Though Newton was in name the first commissioner of agriculture, Ellsworth deserves to be kept in memory as the real founder of the department.

The appropriations at first were insignificant, and occasionally, as in 1841, 1842, and 1846, Congress seems to have forgotten to make any provision whatever for the work, which consequently went forward under difficulties. In 1853 the first appropriation directly for agriculture was made, in 1855 the whole amount up to that time withdrawn for this purpose from the Patent Office fund was re-imbursed, and from that time on the money grants became yearly larger, and the work was allowed slowly to expand. The seed work increased, and in 1856 a propagating garden was begun. The agricultural report, which began in 1841, and was until 1862 printed as a part of that of the Patent Office, became yearly more extensive, and showed a general average annual growth in value. In 1854 work in economic entomology began, with the appointment of Townend Glover to investigate and report upon the habits of insects, injurious and beneficial to agriculture. In 1855 the chemical and botanical divisions were inaugurated.

David P. Holloway, of Indiana, the thirteenth Commissioner of Patents, was instrumental in effecting a most important reform in the scientific administration of the Government. In his first annual report, made in January, 1862, he advocated enthusiastically the creation of a Department of the Productive Arts, to be charged with the care of agriculture and all the other industrial interests of the country, and he was so far successful that on May 15 Congress established the Department of Agriculture. The first Commissioner was Isaac Newton, who had been for a year or more Superintendent of the Agricultural Division of the Patent Office. From 1862 to 1889 there were six Commissioners: Newton (1862–'67), Capron (1867–'71), Watts (1871–'77), Le Duc (1877–'81), Loring (1881–'85), and Coleman (1885–'89), and under the administration of each important advances were made, and the value of the work became yearly greater. Buildings were erected, a chemical laboratory established, the departments of animal industry, economic ornithology and mammalogy, pomology, vegetable pathology, silk culture, microscopic, forestry, and experiment

stations were added, and the system of publications greatly extended. The Department, as now organized, is one of the most vigorous of our national scientific institutions, and with its powerful staff and close affiliations with the forty-six State agricultural experiment stations, manned as they are by nearly four hundred trained investigators, it has possibilities for the future which can scarcely be overestimated.*

The term of the ninth President was too short to afford matter for comment. It should be mentioned, however, that General Harrison published in Cincinnati in 1838 "A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio," and was the only President, except Jefferson and John Quincy Adams, who has ever produced a treatise upon a scientific theme.

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* The first agricultural "experiment station" under that specific designation in the United States was established at Middletown, Conn., in 1875, by the joint action of Mr. Orange Judd, the trustees of the University at Middletown, and the State Legislature, with Prof. W. O. Atwater, as director, and was located in the "Orange Judd Hall of Natural Science." The example was speedily followed elsewhere, so that in 1880 there were four, and in 1886 some seventeen of these institutions in fourteen States. The appropriation by Congress of $15,000 per annum to each of the States and Territories which have established agricultural colleges, or agricultural departments of colleges, has led to the establishment of new stations or the increased development of stations previously established under State authority, so that there are to-day forty-six stations in the United States. Several of these have sub-stations working under their management. Every State has at least one station, several have two, one has three, and Dakota has set the Territories an example by establishing one within her boundaries.

These forty-six stations employ nearly 400 men in the prosecution of experimental inquiry. The appropriation by the United States Government for the current year, for them and for the Office of Experiment Stations in this Department, is $600,000. The several States appropriate about $125,000 in addition, making the sum total of about $725,000 given from public funds the present year for the support of agricultural experiment stations in the United States.

"Of all the scientific enterprises which the Government has undertaken," wrote Secretary Coleman, "scarcely any other has impressed its value upon the people and their representatives in the State and national legislatures so speedily and so strongly as this. The rapid growth of an enterprise for elevating agriculture by the aid of science, its espousal by the United States Government, its development to its present dimensions in the short period of fourteen years, and, finally, the favor with which it is received by the public at large, are a striking illustration of the appreciation on the part of the American people of the wisdom and the usefulness of calling the highest science to the aid of the arts and industries of life."

In 1841 John Tyler, of Virginia, became President. His period of administration was a stormy one, and the atmosphere of Washington at that time was not favorable for scientific progress. During this administration, however, important reforms took place in the organization of the Navy, which resulted in great benefit to science. These were largely the result of the interest of Hon. A. P. Upshur, Secretary of the Navy, at whose instance President Tyler abolished the existing Board of Naval Commissioners, and vested the authority formerly exercised by them in separate bureaus. To many of the pressing necessities for reform of the service, Lieutenant Maury had called attention in his essays, published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, under the title of "Scraps from a Lucky Bag," and over the signature of "Harry Bluff." As a result of this movement, experiments in applying steam to war vessels were actively prosecuted, and the first bill was passed for the establishment at Annapolis of the U. S. Naval Academy, finally accomplished in 1845, and a little later (in 1848) the position of the professors of mathematics in the Navy was dignified and improved, and their numbers limited, with manifest advantage to the scientific service of the Government.*

Indirectly, the reorganization of the Navy had a powerful influence in the development of the Coast Survey, which was reorganized in 1843–'44, with Alexander Dallas Bache as its superintendent, for this new system afforded ample means to that organization for ascertaining the topography of this coast, and making contributions to the science of ocean physics.

Another enterprise was the sending of the Fremont exploring expedition to California and Oregon. It is interesting to know that Captain Fremont was appointed the leader of this expedition against the indignant protests of the topographical engineers, who insisted that a graduate of West Point should be chosen.†

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* The names of W. A. Chauvenet, J. H. C. Coffin, Mordecai Yarnall, Joseph Winlock, Simon Newcomb, Asaph Hall, William Harkness, and J. R. Eastman are a few of those to be found on this list of astronomers and mathematicians.

† The secret history of this appointment is told as follows by Dr. Silas Read, of Boston, in Lyon G. Tyler's "Letters and Times of the Tylers" (II, p. 696).

"I called upon Mr. Tyler the next day and found him about as well pleased over the result as I was, as it constituted a triumph that had never been

The final establishment of the Naval Observatory took place also at this time. The history of this enterprise from the scientific stand-point, has already been discussed, but it may be well to note that it derived its chief political support from Mr. Upshur, then Secretary of the Navy.*

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achieved before (nor since), as shown by the annals of the Senate. While in this pleasant mood, the President asked me if I could not suggest some means by which he might soften the asperities of Senator Benton towards him and his administration. In an instant the thought passed through my mind as to how he could best accomplish his wish. I said, "You have it in your power to touch his heart through his domestic afflictions. Six months ago his pride was humbled by the marriage of his highly educated daughter, Jessie, to a mere lieutenant of the United States Engineer Corps, and he refused them his house. I have just learned that lately he invited them to return to his home, and know they have done so. Now, you have a chance to gladden the Senator's pride and by so doing serve both yourself and the country by taking Lieutenant Fremont by the hand and giving him a chance to rise in the world by appointing him to head an expedition to explorethe Rocky Mountains and some part of the Pacific coast."

Mr. Tyler thought it might stir an excitement with the higher grade officers of the engineer corps (as it did), and that he might not be fully competent to execute the high duties entrusted to him. I replied that these objections need not prevent his appointment, for Lieutenant Fremont had spent the last two years aiding the eminent French scientist, Nicollet, in taking the hydrography of the valley of the Mississippi, and must be familiar with all instruments and modes of using them in such an expedition, and even if he should not prove judicious in selecting scientific men suitable for that part of his corps, he would have the able assistance of Colonel Benton and his talented wife to fall back upon; and that Senator Benton, on the return of Mr. Fremont, would receive, examine, and present his report to the Senate, and take great pride in making an eloquent speech of it (as he did), and thus cause the American reader to examine and well consider its instructive contents, all of which events took place, and the report of his first, if not his second, expedition gained sufficient notoriety to insure its republication in German.

At the close of our interview the President, in his most earnest manner, said: "I will at once appoint Lieutenant Fremont to the head of such an expedition and start him off this spring, so that the country may know as soon as possible what to say and believe of that vast and unknown region, and I shall learn how much effort to expend in striving to acquire it by purchase from Mexico by the time that Texas can be annexed."

Fremont made ready to start from St. Louis with his expedition as soon as there was green grass to subsist his animals upon, with an outfit of fifty to sixty men; after leaving Independence, Mo., he moved up the Platte River and its north branches to the old "South Pass," and thence to the head waters of Snake (or Lewis) River, and down it and the Columbia River to Astoria, thus avoiding Mexican territory, but kept close along its northern border until after he entered Oregon Territory.

* "Letters and Times of the Tylers," by Lyon Gardner Tyler, II p. 387.

To this period belongs also the promotion of experiments with the electric telegraph by our Government. The line from Washington to Baltimore was erected by means of an appropriation of $30,000, the passage of which was warmly urged by the President, who fifteen years later wrote the following letter, full of historical reminiscences.

SHERWOOD FOREST, *September* 1, 1858.

To his honor the mayor, and to the honorable the common council of the city of New York:

GENTLEMEN: In consequence of my absence from this place, I did not receive until to-day your polite invitation to be present at the festivities of to day, and the municipal dinner to be given to Cyrus W. Field, esq., and others at the Metropolitan Hotel to-morrow, in commemoration of the laying of the "Atlantic cable." To be present, therefore, at the time appointed is a thing impossible. All that I can do is to express my cordial concurrence with you in according all praise to those through whose indomitable energy this great work has been accomplished.

When, in 1843, a modest and retired gentleman, the favored child of science, called upon me at the Executive Mansion, to obtain from me some assurance of my co-operation with him in procuring from Congress a small appropriation to enable him to test his great invention; and when at an after-day I had the satisfaction of placing my signature in approval of the act making an appropriation of $30,000, to enable him to connect Washington with Baltimore by his telegraph wire; and when at a still later day I had the pleasure, from the basement of the Capitol to exchange greetings with the Chief-Justice of the United States, who was at the Baltimore end of the line, I confess that it had not entered my mind that not only was lightning to become the messenger of thought over continents of dry land, but that the same all pervading agent was to descend into the depths of the ocean, far below the habitations of living things, and over these fathomless depths to convey, almost in the twinkling of an eye, tidings from nation to nation, and continent to continent. To the great inventor of this, the greatest invention, is due the laurel wreath that can never wither, and to those that have given it a habitation and a home in the waters of the great deep all praise is due.

With sentiments of high consideration, I have the honor to be, most respectfully and truly yours, etc.,

JOHN TYLER.

President Polk served from 1845 to 1849. During this period was organized the Smithsonian Institution, which, though it bears the name of a private citizen and a foreigner, has been for nearly half a century one of the principal rallying points of the scientific workers of America. It has also been inti-

mately connected with very many of the most important scientific undertakings of the Government.

Many wise and enlightened scholars have given to the Smithsonian Institution the best years of their lives, and some of the most eminent scientific men of our country have passed their entire life-time in work for its success. Its publications, six hundred and seventy in number, which when combined make up over one hundred dignified volumes, are to be found in every important library in the world, and some of them, it is safe to say, on the working-table of every scientific investigator in the world who can read English.

Through these books, through the reputation of the men who have worked for it and through it, and through the good accomplished by its system of international exchange, by means of which within the past thirty-eight years 1,262,114 packages of books and other scientific and literary materials have been distributed to every region of the earth, it has acquired a reputation at least as far-reaching as that of any other institution of learning in the world.

No one has been able to show why Smithson selected the United States as the seat of his foundation. He had no acquaintances in America, nor does he appear to have had any books relating to America except two. Rhees quotes from one of these, "Travels through North America," by Isaac Weld, secretary of the Royal Society, a paragraph concerning Washington, then a small town of five thousand inhabitants, in which it is predicted that "the Federal city, as soon as navigation is perfected, will increase most rapidly, and that at a future day, if the affairs of the United States go on as rapidly as they have done, it will become the grand emporium of the West, and rival in magnitude and splendor the cities of the whole world."

Inspired by a belief in the future greatness of the new nation, realizing that while the needs of England were well met by existing organizations such as would not be likely to spring up for many years in a new, poor, and growing country, he founded in the new England an institution of learning, the civilizing power of which has been of incalculable value. Who can attempt to say what the condition of the United States would have been to-day without this bequest?

In the words of John Quincy Adams:

Of all the foundations of establishments for pious or charitable uses which ever signalized the spirit of the age, or the comprehensive beneficence of the founder, none can be named more deserving the approbation of mankind.

The most important service by far which the Smithsonian Institution has rendered to the nation has been that from year to year since 1846—intangible, but none the less appreciable—has been its constant co-operation with the Government, public institutions, and individuals in every enterprise, scientific or educational, which needed its advice, support, or aid from its resources.

There have been, however, material results of its activities, the extent of which can not fail to impress any one who will look at them; the most important of these are the *library* and the *museum*, which have grown up under its fostering care.

The library has been accumulated without aid from the Treasury of the United States: it has, in fact, been the result of an extensive system of exchanges, the publications of the institution having been used to obtain similar publications from institutions of learning in all parts of the world.

In return for its own publications the Institution has received the great collection of books which form its library.

This library, consisting of more than a quarter of a million volumes and parts of volumes, has for over twenty years been deposited at the Capitol as a portion of the Congressional Library, and is constantly being increased. In the last fiscal year nineteen thousand titles were thus added to the national collection of books.

Chiefly through its exchange system the Smithsonian had, in 1865, accumulated about forty thousand volumes, largely publications of learned societies, containing the record of the actual progress of the world in all that pertains to the mental and physical development of the human family, and affording the means of tracing the history of at least every branch of positive science since the days of revival of letters until the present time.

These books, in many cases presents from old European libraries, and not to be obtained by purchase, formed even then one of the best collections of the kind in the world.

The danger incurred from the fire of that year, and the fact that the greater portion of these volumes, being unbound and crowded into insufficient space, could not be readily consulted, while the expense to be incurred for this binding, enlarged room, and other purposes connected with their use threatened to grow beyond the means of the Institution, appear to have been the moving causes which determined the regents to accept

an arrangement by which Congress was to place the Smithsonian library with its own in the Capitol, subject to the right of the Regents to withdraw the books on paying the charges of binding, etc. Owing to the same causes (which have affected the library of Congress itself) these principal conditions, except as regards their custody in a fire-proof building, have never been fulfilled.

The books are still deposited chiefly in the Capitol, but though they have now increased from 40,000 to fully 250,000 volumes and parts of volumes, forming one of the most valuable collections of the kind in existence, they not only remain unbound, but in a far more crowded and inacessible condition than they were before the transfer. It is hardly necessary to add that these facts are deplored by no one more than by the Librarian of Congress.

The purchasing power of the publications of the Institution, when offered in exchange, is far greater than that of money, and its benefit is exerted chiefly in behalf of the National Library, and also, to a considerable extent, in behalf of the National museum.

The amount expended during the past forty years from the private fund of the Institution, in the publication of books for gratuitous distribution, has been $350,000, a sum nearly half as great as the original Smithson bequest.

These publications have had their influence for good in many ways, but in addition to this, a library much more than equal in value to the outlay has, through their buying power, come into the possession of the nation.

In addition to all this, a large amount of material has been acquired for the Museum by direct expenditure from the private fund of the Smithsonian Institution. The value of the collections thus acquired is estimated to be more than equal to the whole amount of the Smithsonian bequest.

The early history of the Museum was much like that of the library. It was not until 1858 that it became the authorized depository of the scientific collections of the Government—and it was not until after 1876 that it was officially recognized as the National Museum of the United States.

But for the provident forethought of the organizers of the Smithsonian Institution, the United States would probably still be without even a reputable nucleus for a National Museum, or a scientific library.

For nearly half a century the Institution has been the object of the watchful care of many of America's most enlightened public men. Vice-Presidents Fillmore and Dallas, and Roger B. Taney, Salmon P. Chase, Morrison R. Waite, and Melville W. Fuller, chief-justices of the United States, have in succession occupied the Chancellor's chair. George Bancroft, John C. Breckinridge, Lewis Cass, Rufus Choate, Samuel S. Cox, Schuyler Colfax, Garrett Davis, Jefferson Davis, Stephen A. Douglas, William H. English, William P. Fessenden, James A. Garfield, Hannibal Hamlin, Henry W. Hilliard, George P. Marsh, James M. Mason, Justin S. Morrill, Robert Dale Owen, James A. Pearce, William C. Preston, Richard Rush, General W. T. Sherman, Lyman Trumbull, and William A. Wheeler have been at various times leaders in the deliberations of the Board of Regents.

The representatives of science on the board, Professor Agassiz, Professor Bache, Professor Coppee, Professor Dana, General Delafield, Professor Felton, Professor Gray, Professor McLean, General Meigs, President Porter, General Totten, and Dr. Welling have usually held office for long periods of years, and have given to its affairs the most careful attention and thought.

The relation of the Smithsonian Institution to the Government has been unique and unparalleled elsewhere. No one will question the assertion that the results of its work have been far wider than those which its annual reports have ever attempted to show forth.

During the administration of Van Buren and the succeeding ones, Governmental science, stimulated by Bache, Henry, and Maury, scientific administrators of a new and more vigorous type than had been previously known in Washington, rapidly advanced, and prior to 1861 the institutions then existing had made material progress.

Those of more recent growth, such as the Army Medical Museum, founded in 1862,* the Bureau of Education, founded in 1867,† the Fish Commission, founded in 1870,‡ the Bureau of

*See J. S. Billings: "Medical Museums, with Special Reference to the Army Medical Museum at Washington." President's address, delivered before the Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons, September 20, 1888.

†See the eighteen annual reports of the Commission of Education.

‡See G. Brown Goode: "The Status of the U. S. Fish Commission in 1884," etc. Washington, 1884.

Ethnology, founded in 1879,* although not less important than many of those already discussed, are so recent in origin that the events connected with their development have not passed into the domain of history.

The material results of the scientific work of the Government during the past ten years undoubtedly surpass in extent all that had been accomplished during the previous hundred years of the independent existence of the nation. With this recent period the present paper has no concern, for it has been written from the stand-point of Carlyle, who, in "Sartor Resartus," states his belief that "in every phenomenon the beginning remains always the most notable moment."

It is neverthless very encouraging to be assured that the attitude of our Government toward scientific and educational enterprises is every year becoming more and more in harmony with the hopes of the founders of our Republic—and in accord with the views of such men as Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Gallatin, and Rush.

It is also encouraging to know that the national attitude toward science is the subject of constant approving comment in Europe. Perhaps the most significant recent utterance was that of Sir Lyon Playfair in his address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at the Aberdeen meeting. He said:

On September 14, 1859, I sat on this platform and listened to the eloquent address and wise counsel of the Prince Consort. At one time a member of the household, it was my privilege to co-operate with this illustrious prince in many questions relating to the advancement of science. I naturally, therefore, turned to his presidential address to see whether I might not now continue those counsels which he then gave with all the breadth and comprehensiveness of his masterly speeches. I found, as I expected, a text for my own discourse in some pregnant remarks which he made upon the relation of science to the State. They are as follows: "We may be justified in hoping * * * that the legislature and the State will more and more recognize the claims of science to their attention, so that it may no longer require the begging-box, but speak to the State like a favored child to its parent, sure of his paternal solicitude for its welfare; that the State will recognize in science one of its elements of strength and prosperity, to foster which the clearest dictates of self-interest demand."

This opinion, in its broadest sense, means that the relations of science to the State should be made more intimate because the advance of science is needful to the public weal.

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* See the six annual reports of the Bureau, and the Smithsonian reports, 1879–'88.

The importance of promoting science as a duty of statecraft was well enough known to the ancients, especially to the Greeks and Arabs, but it ceased to be recognized in the dark ages, and was lost to sight during the revival of letters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Germany and France, which are now in such active competition in promoting science, have only publicly acknowledged its national importance in recent times. Even in the last century, though France had its Lavoisier and Germany its Leibnitz, their Governments did not know the value of science. When the former was condemned to death in the Reign of Terror, a petition was presented to the rulers that his life might be spared for a few weeks in order that he might complete some important experiments, but the reply was: "The Republic has no need of savants." Earlier in the century the much-praised Frederick William of Prussia shouted with a loud voice, during a graduation ceremony in the University of Frankfort: "An ounce of mother-wit is worth a ton of university wisdom." Both France and Germany are now ashamed of these utterances of their rulers, and make energetic efforts to advance science with the aid of their national resources. More remarkable is it to see a young nation like the United States reserving 150,000,000 acres of national lands for the promotion of scientific education. In some respects this young country is in advance of all European nations in joining science to its administrative offices. Its scientific publications are an example to other Governments. The Minister of Agriculture is surrounded with a staff of botanists and chemists. The Home Secretary is aided by a special scientific commission to investigate the habits, migrations, and food of fishes, and the latter has at its disposal two specially constructed steamers of large tonnage.

In the United Kingdom we are just beginning to understand the wisdom of Washington's farewell address to his countrymen when he said: "Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the increase and diffusion of knowledge; in proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

APPENDIX A.

PLAN OF A FEDERAL UNIVERSITY.

[From the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1788. Quoted in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, Saturday, Nov. 29, 1788.]

"Your government can not be executed, it is too extensive for a republick; it is contrary to the habits of the people," say the enemies of the Constitution of the United States. However opposite to the opinions and wishes of a majority of the citizens of the United States these declarations and predictions may be, they will certainly come to pass, unless the people are prepared for our new form of government, by an education adapted to the new and peculiar situation of our country. To effect this great and necessary work, let one of the first acts of the new Congress be, to establish, within the district to be allotted for them, a Federal University, into which the youth of the United States shall be received after

they have finished their studies and taken degrees in the colleges of their respective States. In this University let those branches of literature only be taught which are calculated to prepare our youth for public and civil life. These branches should be taught by means of lectures, and the following arts and sciences should be the subject of them:

1. The principles and forms of government applied in a particular manner to the explanation of every part of the Constitution and laws of the United States, together with the laws of nature and nations, which last should include everything that relates to peace, war, treaties, ambassadours, and the like.

2. History, both ancient and modern, and chronology.

3. Agriculture in all numerous and extensive branches.

4. The principles and practice of manufactures.

5. History, principles, objects, and channels of commerce.

6. Those parts of mathematics which are necessary to the division of property, to finance, and to the principles and practice of war—for there is too much reason to fear that war will continue, for some time to come, to be the unchristian mode of deciding disputes between Christian nations.

7. Those parts of natural philosophy and chemistry which admit of an application to agriculture, manufacture, commerce, and war.

8. Natural History, which includes the history of animals, vegetables, and fossils. To render instruction in these branches of science easy, it will be necessary to establish a museum, and also a garden, in which not only all the shrubs, etc., but all the forest trees of the United States should be cultivated. The great Linnæus of Upsal enlarged the commerce of Sweden by his discoveries in natural history, he once saved the Swedish Navy by finding out the time in which a worm laid its eggs and recommending the immersion of the timber of which the ships were built at that season wholly under water. So great were the services this illustrious naturalist rendered his country by the application of his knowledge to agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, that the present King of Sweden pronounced an eulogium upon him, from his throne, soon after his death.

9. Philology, which should include, under rhetoric and criticism, lectures upon the construction and pronunciation of the English language. Instruction in this branch of literature will become the more necessary in America, as our intercourse must soon cease with the bar, the stage, and the pulpits of Great Britain, from whence we receive our knowledge of the pronunciation of the English language. Even modern English books should cease to be the models of stile in the United States. The present is the age of simplicity in writing in America. The turgid stile of Johnson, the purple glare of Gibbon, and even the studied and thickest metaphours of Junius are all equally unnatural, and should not be admitted into our country. The cultivation and perfection of our language becomes a matter of consequence when viewed in another light. It will probably be spoken by more people in the course of two or three centuries than ever spoke any one language at one time since the creation of the world. When we consider the influence which the prevalence of only two languages, viz, the English and the Spanish, in the extensive regions of North and South America, will have upon manners, commerce, knowledge, and civilization, scenes of human happiness and glory open before us which elude from their magnitude the utmost grasp of the human understanding.

10. The German and French languages should be taught in this University, the many excellent books which are written in both these languages upon all subjects, more especially upon those which relate to the advancement of national improvements of all kinds, will render a knowledge of them an essential part of the education of a legislator of the United States.

11. All those athletick and manly exercises should likewise be taught in the University which are calculated to impart health, strength, and elegance to the human body.

To render the instruction of our youth as easy and extensive as possible in several of the above mentioned branches of literature, let four young men of good education and active minds be sent abroad at public expense, to collect and transmit to the professors of the said branches all the improvements that are daily made in Europe in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and in the arts of war and practical government, this measure is rendered the more necessary from the distance of the United States from Europe, by which means the rays of knowledge strike the United States so partially that they can be brought to a useful focus, only by employing suitable men to collect and transmit them to our country. It is in this manner that the northern nations of Europe have imported so much knowledge from their southern neighbors, that the history of the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, revenues, and military art of *one* of these nations will soon be alike applicable to all of them.

Besides sending four young men abroad to collect and transmit knowledge for the benefit of our country, *two* young men of suitable capacities should be employed, at the public expense, in exploring the vegetable, mineral, and animal productions of our country, in procuring histories and samples of each of them, and in transmitting them to the Professor of Natural History. It is in consequence of the discoveries made by young gentlemen employed for these purposes, that Sweden, Denmark, and Russia have extended their manufactures and commerce so as to rival in both the oldest nations in Europe.

Let the Congress allow a liberal salary to the Principal of this University. Let it be his business to govern the students, and to inspire them by his conversation and by his occasional publick discourses, with federal and patriotic sentiments. Let this Principal be a man of extensive education, liberal manners, and dignified deportment.

Let the Professors of each of the branches that have been mentioned have a moderate salary of 150 or 200 pounds a year, and let them depend upon the number of their pupils to supply the deficiency of their maintenance from their salaries. Let each pupil pay for each course of lectures two or three guineas.

Let the degrees conferred in this University receive a new name, that shall designate the design of an education for civil and publick life. Should this plan of a Federal University, or one like it, be adopted, then will begin the golden age of the United States. While the business of education in Europe consists in lectures upon the ruins of Palmyra and the antiquities of Herculaneum; or in dispute about Hebrew points, Greek particles, or the accent and quantity of the Roman language, the youth of America will be employed in acquiring those branches of knowledge which increase the convenience of life, lessen human misery, improve our country, promote

population, exalt the human understanding, and establish domestick, social, and political happiness.

Let it not be said, that this is not the *time* for such a literary and political establishment. Let us first restore publick credit, by funding or paying our debts—let us regulate our militia—let us build a navy—and let us protect and extend our commerce. After this we shall have leisure and money to establish a University for the purposes that have been mentioned. This is false reasoning. We shall never restore publick credit—regulate our militia—build a navy—or revive our commerce, until we remove the ignorance and prejudices, and change the habits of our citizens, and this can never be done until we inspire them with federal principles, which can only be effected by our young men meeting and spending two or three years together in a National University, and afterwards disseminating their knowledge and principles through every county, town, and village of the United States. Until this is done—Senators and Representatives of the United States, you will undertake to make bricks without straw. Your supposed union in Congress will be a rope of sand. The inhabitants of Massachusetts began the business of government by establishing the University of Cambridge, and the wisest Kings in Europe have always found their literary institutions the surest means of establishing their power, as well as promoting the prosperity of their people.

These hints for establishing the constitution and happiness of the United States upon a permanent foundation are submitted to the friends of the federal government, in each of the States, by a Private Citizen of Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX B.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, BY BENJAMIN RUSH, M. D., 1787.

Reprinted from Niles's, "Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America," pp. 402-404.]

There is nothing more common than to confound the terms of *American Revolution* with those of *the late American war*. The American war is over, but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed. It remains yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government, and to prepare the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens for these forms of government after they are established and brought to perfection.

The confederation, together with most of our State constitutions, was formed under very unfavorable circumstances. We had just emerged from a corrupted monarchy. Although we understood perfectly the principles of liberty, yet most of us were ignorant of the forms and combinations of power in republics. Add to this, the British army was in the heart of our country, spreading desolation wherever it went; our resentments, of course, were awakened. We deserted the British name, and, unfortunately, refused to copy some things in the administration of justice and power in the British government which have made it the envy and admiration of the world. In our opposition to monarchy, we forgot that the temple of tyranny

has two doors. We bolted one of them by the proper restraints, but we left the other open by neglecting to guard against the effects of our own ignorance and licentiousness. Most of the present difficulties of this country arise from the weakness and other defects of our governments.

My business at present shall be only to suggest the defects of the confederation. These consist—1st. In the deficiency of coercive power. 2d. In a defect of exclusive power to issue paper money and regulate commerce. 3d. In vesting the sovereign power of the United States in a single legislature; and, 4th, in the too frequent rotation of its members.

A convention is to sit soon for the purpose of devising means of obviating part of the two first defects that have been mentioned. But I wish they may add to their recommendations to each State, to surrender up to Congress their power of emitting money. In this way, a uniform currency will be produced, that will facilitate trade, and help to bind the States together. Nor will the States be deprived of large sums of money by this mean, when sudden emergencies require it, for they may always borrow them, as they did during the war, out of the treasury of Congress. Even a loan office may be better instituted in this way in each State than in any other.

The two last defects that have been mentioned are not of less magnitude than the first. Indeed, the single legislature of Congress will become more dangerous from an increase of power than ever. To remedy this, let the supreme federal power be divided, like the legislatures of most of our States, into two distinct, independent branches. Let one of them be styled the Council of the States, and the other the Assembly of the States. Let the first consist of a single delegate, and the second of two, three, or four delegates, chosen annually by each State. Let the President be chosen annually by the joint ballot of both Houses, and let him possess certain powers, in conjunction with a privy council, especially the power of appointing most of the officers of the United States. The officers of the United States. The officers will not only be better when appointed in this way, but one of the principal causes of faction will be thereby removed from Congress. I apprehend this division of the power of Congress will become more necessary as soon as they are invested with more ample powers of levying and expending the public money.

The custom of turning men out of power or office as soon as they are qualified for it has been found to be as absurd in practice as it is virtuous to dismiss a general, a physician, or even a domestic, as soon as they have acquired knowledge sufficient to be useful to us, for the sake of increasing the number of able generals, skilful physicians, and faithful servants? We do not. Government is a science, and can never be perfect in America until we encourage men to devote not only three years but their whole lives to it. I believe the principal reason why so many men of abilities object to serving in Congress is owing to their not thinking it worth while to spend three years in acquiring a profession which their country immediately afterwards forbids them to follow.

There are two errors or prejudices on the subject of government in America which lead to the most dangerous consequences.

It is often said "that the sovereign and all other power is seated *in* the people." This idea is unhappily expressed. It should be, "all power is derived *from* the people"; they possess it only on the days of their elections.

After this, it is the property of their rulers; nor can they exercise or resume it, unless it be abused. It is of importance to circulate this idea, as it leads to order and good government.

The people of America have mistaken the meaning of the word sovereignty, hence each State pretends to be *sovereign*. In Europe it is applied only to those States which possess the power of making war and peace, of forming treaties, and the like. As this power belongs only to Congress, they are the only *sovereign* power in the United States.

We commit a similar mistake in our ideas of the word independent. No individual State, as such, has any claim to independence; she is independent only in a union with her sister States in Congress.

To conform the principles, morals and manners of our citizens, to our republican forms of government, it is absolutely necessary that knowledge of every kind should be disseminated through every part of the United States.

For this purpose, let Congress, instead of laying out half a million of dollars in building a federal town, appropriate only a fourth of that sum in founding a federal university. In this university let every thing connected with government, such as history—the law of nature and nations—the civil law—the municipal laws of our country—and the principles of commerce—be taught by competent professors. Let masters be employed likewise to teach gunnery, fortification, and every thing connected with defensive and offensive war. Above all, let a professor of, what is called in the European universities, economy, be established in this federal seminary. His business should be to unfold the principles and practice of agriculture and manufactures of all kind, and to enable him to make his lectures more extensively useful, Congress should appoint a travelling correspondent for him, who should visit all the nations of Europe, and transmit to him, from time to time, all the discoveries and improvements that are made in agriculture and manufactures. To this seminary young men should be encouraged to repair, after completing their academical studies in the colleges of their respective States. The honors and offices of the United States should, after a while, be confined to persons who had imbibed federal and republican ideas in this university.

For the purpose of diffusing knowledge, as well as extending the living principle of government to every part of the United States—every State—city—county—village—and township in the Union, should be tied together by means of the post-office. This is the true non-electric wire of government. It is the only means of conveying heat and light to every individual in the federal commonwealth. "Sweden lost her liberties," says the Abbe Raynal, "because her citizens were so scattered, that they had no means of acting in concert with each other." It should be a constant injunction to the post-masters to convey newspapers free of all charge for postage. They are not only the vehicles of knowledge and intelligence, but the centinels of the liberties of our country.

The conduct of some of those strangers who have visited our country since the peace, and who fill the British papers with accounts of our distresses, shews as great a want of good sense, as it does of good-nature. They see nothing but the foundations and walls of the temple of liberty; and yet they undertake to judge of the whole fabric.

Our own citizens act a still more absurd part, when they cry out, after the experience of three or four years, that we are not proper materials for republican government. Remember we assumed these forms of government in a hurry, before we were prepared for them. Let every man exert himself in promoting virtue and knowledge in our country, and we shall soon become good republicans. Look at the steps by which governments have been changed, or rendered stable in Europe. Read the history of Great Britain. Her boasted government has risen out of wars and rebellions that lasted above six hundred years. The United States are travelling peaceably into order and good government. They know no strife but what arises from the collision of opinions; and, in three years, they have advanced further in the road to stability and happiness, than most of the nations of Europe have done, in as many centuries.

There is but one path that can lead the United States to destruction; and that is, their extent of territory. It is probable to effect this, that Great Britain ceded to us so much waste land. But even this path may be avoided. Let but one new State be exposed to sale at a time, and let the land-office be shut up, till every part of this new State be settled.

I am extremely sorry to find a passion for retirement so universal among the patriots and heroes of the war. They resemble skillful mariners who, after exerting themselves to preserve a ship from sinking in a storm in the middle of the ocean, drop asleep as soon as the waves subside, and leave the care of their lives and property during the remainder of the voyage to sailors without knowledge or experience. Every man in a republic is public property. His time and talents—his youth—his manhood—his old age—nay more, his life, his all, belong to his country.

Patriots of 1774, 1775, 1776—heroes of 1778, 1779, 1780! come forward! your country demands your services! Philosophers and friends of mankind, come forward! your country demands your studies and speculations! Lovers of peace and order, who declined taking part in the late war, come forward! your country forgives your timidity and demands your influence and advice! Hear her proclaiming, in sighs and groans, in her governments, in her finances, in her trade, in her manufactures, in her morals, and in her manners, "*the revolution is not over!*"

APPENDIX C.

PROSPECTUS OF A NATIONAL INSTITUTION, TO BE ESTABLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Joel Barlow, 1806.

[Reprinted from a defective copy of Barlow's pamphlet in the Congressional Library, supplemented by the reprint in the *National Intelligencer* of 1806, and a MS. copy in the possession of Dr. J. C. Welling.]

The project for erecting a university at the seat of the federal government is brought forward at a happy moment, and on liberal principles. We may therefore reasonably hope for an extensive endowment from the munificence of individuals, as well as from government itself. This expectation will naturally lead us to enlarge our ideas on the subject, and to give a greater

scope to its practical operation than has usually been contemplated in institutions of a similar nature.

Two distinct objects, which, in other countries have been kept asunder, may and ought to be united; they are both of great national importance; and by being embraced in the same Institution, they will aid each other in their acquisition. These are the advancement of knowledge by associations of scientific men, and the dissemination of its rudiments by the instruction of youth. The first has been the business of learned corporations, such as the Royal Society of London, and the National Institute of France; the second is pursued by collections of instructors, under the name of universities, colleges, academies, etc.

The leading principle of uniting these two branches of improvement in one Institution, to be extended upon a scale that will render it truly national, requires some development. We find ourselves in possession of a country so vast as to lead the mind to anticipate a scene of social intercourse and interest unexampled in the experience of mankind. This territory presents and will present such a variety of productions, natural and artificial, such a diversity of connections abroad, and of manners, habits, and propensities at home, as will create a strong tendency to diverge and separate the views of those who shall inhabit the different regions within our limits.

It is most essential to the happiness of the people and to the preservation of their republican principles, that this tendency to a separation should be overbalanced by superior motives to a harmony of sentiment; that they may habitually feel that community of interest on which their federal system is founded. This desirable object is to be attained, not only by the operations of the government in its several departments, but by those of literature, sciences, and arts. The liberal sciences are in their nature republican; they delight in reciprocal communication; they cherish fraternal feelings, and lead to a freedom of intercourse, combined with the restraints of society, which contribute together to our improvement.

To explore the natural productions of our country, give an enlightened direction to the labors of industry, explain the advantages of interior tranquillity, of moderation and justice in the pursuits of self-interest, and to promote as far as circumstances will admit, an assimilation of civil regulations, political principles and modes of education, must engage the solicitude of every patriotic citizen; as he must perceive in them the necessary means of securing good morals and every republican virtue; a wholesome jealousy of right and a clear understanding of duty; without which, no people can be expected to enjoy the one or perform the other for any number of years.

The time is fast approaching when the United States, if no foreign disputes should induce an extraordinary expenditure of money, will be out of debt. From that time forward, the greater part of their public revenue may, and probably will, be applied to public improvements of various kinds; such as facilitating the intercourse through all parts of their dominion by roads, bridges, and canals; such as making more exact surveys, and forming maps and charts of the interior country, and of the coasts, bays and harbors, perfecting the system of lights, buoys, and other nautical aids; such as encouraging new branches of industry, so far as may be advantageous to the public, either by offering premiums for discoveries, or by

purchasing from their proprietors such inventions as shall appear to be of immediate and general utility, and rendering them free to the citizens at large; such as exploring the remaining parts of the wilderness of our continent, both within and without our own jurisdiction, and extending to their savage inhabitants, as far as may be practicable, a taste for civilization, and the means of knowing the comforts that men are capable of yielding to each other in the peaceable pursuits of industry, as they are understood in our stage of society.

To prepare the way for the government to act on these great objects with intelligence, economy, and effect, and to aid its operations when it shall be ready to apply its funds to that purpose, will occupy in part the attention of that branch of the Institution composed of men of scientific research; whose labors, it is expected, will be in a great measure gratuitous. It cannot be too early, even at this moment, to direct the researches of science to occupations of this nature. By this means, at the end of the eleven years, the epoch at which the government may expect to be free of debt, the way can be prepared to begin with system, and proceed with regularity in the various details of public improvement; a business which, if the rulers of all nations did but know it, ought to be considered among the first of their duties, one of the principal objects of their appointment.

The science of political economy is still in its infancy; as indeed is the whole science of government, if we regard it as founded on principles analogous to the nature of man, and designed to promote his happiness. As we believe our government to be founded on these principles, we cannot but perceive an immense field of improvement opening before us; a field in which all the physical as well as the moral sciences should lend their aid and unite their operation, to place human society on such a footing in this great section of the habitable world, as to secure it against farther convulsions from violence and war. Mankind have a right to expect this example from us; we alone are in a situation to hold it up before them, to command their esteem, and perhaps their imitation. Should we, by a narrowness of views, neglect the opportunity of realizing so many benefits, we ought to reflect that it never can occur to us again; nor can we forsee that it will return to any age or nation. We should grievously disappoint the expectations of all good in other countries, we should ourselves regret our error while we live; and if posterity did not load us with the reproaches we should merit, it would be because our conduct will have kept them ignorant of the possibility of obtaining the blessings, of which it had deprived them.

It would be superfluous, in this Prospectus, to point out the objects merely scientific, that will naturally engage the attention of this branch of the Institution. We are sensible that many of the sciences, physical as well as moral, are very little advanced; some of them, in which we seem to have made considerable progress, are yet so uncertain as to leave it doubtful whether even their first principles do not remain to be discovered; and in all of them, there is a great deficiency as to the mode of familiarizing their results, and applying them to the useful arts of life, the true object of all labor and research.

What a range is open in this country for mineralogy and botany! How many new arts are to arise, and how far the old ones are to be advanced,

by the pursuit of these two sciences, it is impossible even to imagine. Chemistry is making a rapid and useful progress, though we still dispute about its elements. Our knowledge of anatomy has laid a necessary and sure foundation for surgery and medicine; surgery indeed is making great proficiency; but, after three thousand years of recorded experience, how little do we know of medicine! Mechanics and hydraulics are progressing fast, and wonderful are the facilities and comforts we draw from them; but while it continues to be necessary to make use of animal force to move heavy bodies in any direction by land or water, we have a right to anticipate new discoveries. Could the genius of a Bacon place itself on the high ground of all the sciences in their present state of advancement, and marshal them before him in so great a country as this, and under a government like ours, he would point out their objects, foretell their successes, and move them on their march, in a manner that should animate their votaries and greatly accelerate their progress.

The mathematics, considered as a science, may probably be susceptible of higher powers than it has yet attained; considered as the handmaid of all the sciences and all the arts, it doubtless remains to be simplified. Some new processes, and perhaps new modes of expressing quantities and numbers, may yet be discovered, to assist the mind in climbing the difficult steps that lead to an elevation so much above our crude conceptions; an elevation that subjects the material universe, with all its abstractions of space and time, to our inspection; and opens, for their combinations, so many useful and satisfying truths.

Researches in literature, to which may be united those in morals, government, and laws, are so vague in their nature, and have been so little methodized, as scarcely to have obtained the name of sciences. No man has denied the importance of these pursuits; though the English nation, from whom we have borrowed so many useful things, has not thought proper to give them that consistency and standing among the objects of laudable ambition, to which they are entitled. Men the most eminent in these studies have not been members of their learned associations. Locke, Berkeley, Pope, Hume, Robertson, Gibbon, Adam Smith, and Blackstone, were never admitted into the Royal Society. This is doubtless owing to the nature of their government; though the government itself exerts no influence in these elections. The science of morals connects itself so intimately with the principles of political institutions, that where it is deemed expedient to keep the latter out of sight, it is not strange that the former should meet no encouragement.

This policy is strikingly exemplified in the history of the French Institute. That learned and respectable body was incorporated by the National Convention in the year 1795, and took place of all the old academies, which had been previously abolished. It was composed of three classes, according to the objects to be pursued by its members. The first was the class for the physical sciences, the second was the class for the moral and political sciences, the third was for the fine arts. Thus it went on and made great progress in several branches, till the year 1803, when Bonaparte's government assumed that character which rendered the pursuit of moral and political science inconvenient to him. He then new modeled the Institute, and abolished that class. But lest his real object should be per-

ceived and he be accused of narrowing the compass of research, he created two new classes in the room of this; one for ancient literature, and one for the French language. On the same occasion an order was issued to all the colleges and great schools in France, suppressing the professorships of moral and political philosophy.

But in our country, and at this early epoch in the course of republican experiment, no subjects of research can be more important than those embraced by these branches of science. Our *representative* system is new in practice, though some theories of that sort have been framed by speculative writers; and partial trials have been made in the British Dominions. But our *federal* system, combined with democratical representation, is a magnificent stranger upon earth; a new world of experiment, bursting with incalculable omens on the view of mankind. It was the result of circumstances which no man could foresee, and no writer pretended to contemplate. It presented itself to us from the necessity of the situation we were in; dreaded at first as an evil by many good men in our own country, as well as by our friends in Europe; and it is at this day far from being understood, or properly appreciated, by the generality of those who admire it. Our practice upon it, as far as we have gone, and the vast regions of our continent that present themselves to its embrace, must convince the world that it is the greatest improvement on the mechanism of government that has ever been discovered, the most consoling to the friends of liberty, humanity, and peace.

Men who have grown old in the intrigues of cabinets, and those who, in the frenzy of youthful ambition, present themselves on the theater of politics, at the head of armies, which they cannot live without, are telling us that 'no new principle of government has been discovered for these two thousand years';* and that all proposals to ameliorate the system are vain abstractions, unworthy of a sound philosophy. They may tell us too that no new principle in mechanics had been discovered since we came to the knowledge of the lever; no new principle in war, since we first found that a man would cease to fight the moment he was killed. Yet we see in the two latter cases that new *combinations* of principle have been discovered; they are daily now discovered and carried into practice. In these there are no books written to inform us we can go no further; no imperial decrees to arrest our progress. Why then should this be the case in those combinations of the moral sense of man, which compose the science of government?

But whether we consider the principles themselves as new, or the combination only as new, the fact with respect to our government is this: although the principle has long since been known that the powers necessarily exercised in regulating a great community, originate in the people at large, and that these powers cannot conveniently be exercised by the people at large; yet it was not discovered how these powers could be conveniently exercised by a few delegates, in such a manner as to be constantly kept within the reach of the people at large, so as to be controlled by them without a convulsion. But a mode of doing this has been discovered in later years, and is now for the first time carried into practice in our country; I

*This is asserted in a book written to support the present government of France. I forget the title.

do not say in the utmost perfection of which the principle is capable; yet in a manner which greatly contributes, with our other advantages, to render us the happiest people on earth. Again although the principle has long since been known, that good laws faithfully executed within a state, would protect the industry of men, and preserve interior tranquillity; yet no method was discovered which would effectually preserve exterior tranquillity between state and state. Treaties were made, oaths were exacted, the name of God was invoked, forts, garrisons, and armies were established on their respective frontiers; all with the sincere desire, no doubt, of preserving peace. The whole of these precautions have been constantly found ineffectual. But we at last, and almost by accident, have discovered a mode of preserving peace among states, without any of the old precautions; which were always found extremely expensive, destructive to liberty, and incapable of securing the object. We have found that states have some interests that are common and mutual among themselves; that so far as these interests go, the states should not be independent; that without losing any thing of their dignity, but rather increasing it, they can bind themselves together by federal government, composed of their own delegates, frequently and freely elected, to whom they can confide these common interests; and that by giving up to these delegates the exercise of certain acts of sovereignty, and retaining the rest to themselves, each state puts it out of its own power to withdraw from the confederation, and out of the power of the general government to deprive them of the rights they have retained.

If these are not new principles of government, they are at least new combinations of principles, which require to be developed, studied and understood better than they have been, even by ourselves; but especially by the rising generation, and by all foreign observers who shall study our institutions. Foreigners will thus give us credit for what we have done, point out to our attentiod what we have omitted to do, and perhaps aid us with their lights, in bringing towards perfection a system, which may be destined to ameliorate the condition of the human race.

It is in this view that moral and political research ought to be regarded as one of the most important objects of the National Institution, the highest theme of literary emulation, whether in prose or verse, the constant stimulus to excite the ambition of youth in the course of education.

What are called the fine arts, in distinction from what are called the useful, have been but little cultivated in America. Indeed, few of them have yet arrived, in modern times, to that degree of splendor which they had acquired among the ancients. Here we must examine an opinion, entertained by some persons, that the encouragement of the fine arts savors too much of luxury, and is unfavorable to republican principles. It is true, as is alleged, they have usually flourished most under despotic governments; but so have corn and cattle. Republican principles have never been organized or understood, so as to form a government, in any country but our own. It is therefore from theory, rather than example, that we must reason on this subject. There is no doubt but that fine arts, both in those who cultivate and those who only admire them, open and expand the mind to great ideas. They inspire liberal feelings, create a harmony of temper, favorable to a sense of justice and a habit of moderation in our social intercourse.

By increasing the circle of our pleasures, they moderate the intensity with which pleasures, not dependent on them, would be pursued. In proportion as they multiply our wants, they stimulate our industry, they diversify the objects of our ambition, they furnish new motives for a constant activity of mind and body, highly favorable to the health of both. The encouragement of a taste for elegant luxuries discourages the relish for luxuries that are gross and sensual, debilitating to the body, and demoralizing to the mind. These last, it must be acknowledged, are prevailing in our country; they are perhaps the natural growth of domestic affluence and civil liberty. The government, however mild and paternal, cannot check them by any direct application of its powers, without improper encroachments on the liberty and affluence, that give them birth. But a taste for the elegant enjoyments which spring from the culture of the fine arts, excites passions not so irresistible, but that they are easily kept within the limits, which the means of each individual will prescribe. It is the friend of morals and of health; it supposes a certain degree of information; it necessitates liberal instruction; it cannot but be favorable to republican manners, principles, and discipline.

A taste for these arts is peculiarly desirable in those parts of our country, at the southward and westward, where the earth yields her rich productions with little labor, and leaves to the cultivator considerable vacancies of time and superfluities of wealth, which otherwise will, in all probability, be worse employed. The arts of drawing, painting, statuary, engraving, music, poetry, ornamental architecture, and ornamental gardening would employ a portion of the surplus time and money of our citizens; and at the same time be more likely to dispose their minds to devote another portion to charitable and patriotic purposes, than if the first portion had not been thus employed.

In England there is a Royal Academy for the fine arts, as well as a Royal Society for the sciences; though men of merit in other learned labors are not associated. In France the two classes of eminent men who pursue the sciences and the arts, are united in the National Institute. Besides these, and besides the colleges and universities, there exists in each of these countries a variety of institutions useful in their different objects, and highly conducive to the general mass of public improvement, as well as to private instruction.

The French Government supports:

1. *The School of Mines*, an extensive establishment; where is preserved a collection of specimens from all the mines, wrought and unwrought, that are known to exist in that country; where, with the free use of a laboratory, lectures are given gratis one day in the week for nine months in the year, and where young men receive what is called a mineralogical education. At this place the proprietor of a mine, whether of metals, coals, or other valuable fossils, may have them examined without expense; and here he can apply for an able and scientific artist, recommended by the professors, to be the conductor of his works, as well in the engineering as the metallurgical branch.

2. *The School of Roads and Bridges;* whose title ought to extend likewise to canals, river navigation and hydraulic architecture; since it embraces all these objects. Here are preserved models and drawings of all the great

works, and many of the abortive attempts, in these branches of business. It is a curious and useful collection. This establishment too maintains its professors, who give lectures gratis, and produce among their pupils the ablest draftsmen and civil engineers, ready to be employed where the public service or private enterprise may require.

3. *The Conservatory of Arts;* meaning the useful arts and trades. This, in appearance, is a vast Babel of materials; consisting of tools, models, and entire machines, ancient and modern, good and bad. For it is often useful to preserve for inspection a bad machine. The professor explains the reason why it did not answer the purpose; and this either prevents another person from spending his time and money in pursuit of the same impracticable scheme, or it may lead his mind to some ingenious invention to remedy the defect and make it a useful object. Here is a professor for explaining the use of the machines, and for aiding the minister in discharging the duties of the patent office. Here likewise several trades are carried on, and persons are taught gratis the use of the tools by practice as well as by lectures

4. *The Museum of Natural History.* This consists of a botanical garden, an extensive menagery, or collection of wild animals, and large cabinets of minerals. To this institution are attached several professorships; and lectures are given in every branch of natural history.

5. *The Museum of Arts;* meaning the fine arts. This is the school for painting, statuary, music, &c. The great splendor of this establishment consists chiefly in its vast gallery of pictures, and its awful synod of statues. These are as far beyond description as they are above comparison. Since, to the collections of the kings of France, the Government has added so many of the best productions of Italy, Flanders and Holland, there is no other assemblage of the works of art where students can be so well accommodated with variety and excellence, to excite their emulation and form their taste.

6. *The National Library.* This collection is likewise unparalleled both for the number and variety of works it contains; having about five hundred thousand volumes, in print and manuscript; besides all of value that is extant in maps, charts, engravings; and a museum of coins, medals and inscriptions, ancient and modern.

8. *The Mint;* which is a scientific as well as a laboratorial establishment; where lectures are given in mineralogy, metallurgy, and chemistry.

9. *The Military School;* where field engineering, fortification, gunnery, attack and defense of places, and the branches of mathematics, necessary to these sciences, are taught by experienced masters.

10. *The Prytaneum;* which is an excellent school of general science, more especially military and nautical; but it is exclusively devoted to what are called *enfans de la patrie,* children of the country, or boys adopted by the Government, and educated at the public expense. They are generally those whose fathers have died in the public service. But this distinction is often conferred on others, through particular favor. The school is supplied with able instructors; and the pupils are very numerous. They are taught to consider themselves entirely devoted to the service of their country, as is indicated both by their own appellation and that of their seminary.

11. *The College of France* retains all its ancient advantages, and has been improved by the revolution.

12. *The School of Medicine*, united with anatomy and surgery, is in able hands, and well conducted.

13. *The Veterinary School;* where practical and scientific lessons are given on the constitution and diseases of animals.

14. *The Observatory* is an appellation still retained by an eminent school of astronomy; though its importance has grown far beyond what is indicated by its name. It publishes the annual work called *la connaissance des tems;* a work not only of national but of universal utility for navigators and astronomers.

15. Another institution, whose functions have outgrown its name, is the *Bureau of Longitude*. It not only offers premiums for discoveries, tending to the great object of finding an easy method of ascertaining the longitude at sea, and judges of their merit; but it is the encourager and depositary of all nautical and geographical discoveries; and, in conjunction with the school of astronomy and that of natural history, it directs and superintends such voyages of discovery as the government chooses to undertake.

16. The last public establishment for liberal instruction, that I shall mention in the capital, though not the only remaining one that might be named, is the *Polytechnic School*. This, for the variety of sciences taught, the degree of previous attainment necessary for admission, the eminent talents of the professors, and the high state of erudition to which the pupils are carried, is doubtless the first institution in the world.

The Prytaneum, the Polytechnic School, the Museum of Arts, the Conservatory of Arts, and the Veterinary School, are new institutions, established during the revolution. The others existed before; but most of them have been much improved. There were likewise erected during the same period, a great number of provincial colleges. The general provision was to have one in each county, or department, of which there are upwards of a hundred in France. The provision likewise extended to what are called primary schools, to be erected and multiplied in every town and village. This is also executed in part, but not completely.

On the whole, the business of education in France is on a much better footing at present than it ever was before the revolution. The clamor that was raised by the emigrants against the convention, reproaching them with having destroyed education, were unfounded, and, we may almost say, the reverse of truth. Their plans on this subject were great, and in general good; much good indeed has grown out of them; though they have not been pursued by the government during its subsequent changes, in the manner contemplated by the projectors.

Besides the public foundations, established and partly supported by the government, there is a variety of private associations for collecting and diffusing information; such as agricultural societies, a society for the encouragement of arts and manufactures; and another which, though neither scientific nor literary, is a great encourager of literature. It is a charitable fund for giving relief to indigent authors, and to their widows and orphans.

The Lyceum of Arts, as a private society, merits a distinguished place in this hasty review of the liberal establishments in Paris. This foundation belongs to a number of proprietors, who draw no other advantage from it than the right of attending the lectures, and of using the laboratory, reading-rooms, library, and philosophical apparatus. It employs able profess-

ors in all the sciences, in technology, in literature, and in several modern languages. It admits annual subscribers, who enjoy these advantages during the year; and it is particularly useful to strangers and to young men from the provinces, who might otherwise employ their leisure hours in less profitable amusements.

If, in speaking of the state of public instruction in England, we are less particular than in those of her neighbors, it will not be for want of respect for her institutions; but because most of them are better known in this country, and some of them similar to those we have described. Her universities and colleges, her numerous agricultural societies, her society of arts and manufactures, her royal society, royal academy, royal observatory, British Museum, marine and military academies, her society for exploring the interior of Africa, her missionary society, and her board of longitude, are probably familiar to most of the readers of this Prospectus. We shall particularize only two or three others; which, being of recent date, are probably less known.

"*The Literary Fund*, for the relief of indigent authors and their families, is an institution of extensive and increasing beneficence. It is not merely a charitable, but a patriotic endowment; and its influence must extend to other nations, and to posterity. For an author of merit belongs to the world at large; his genius is not the property of one age or nation, but the general heritage of all. When a fund like this is administered by men of discernment and fidelity, worthy of their trust, as the one in question certainly is, lending its aid to all proper objects, without regard to party or system, whether in politics, science or religion, it gives independence to literary pursuits. Men who are fostered by it, or feel a confidence that they may, in case of need, partake of its munificence, become bold in the development of useful truths; they are not discouraged by the dread of opposing the opinions of vulgar minds, whether among members of the government or powerful individuals.

This generous and energetic establishment owes its foundation to David Williams; whose luminous writings, as well as other labors, in favor of liberty and morals, are well known in this country. It was a new attempt to utilize the gifts of fortune, and the efforts of timid merit. It was not till after many years of exertion by its patriotic founder, that the institution assumed a vigorous existence, became rich by the donations of the opulent, and popular from the patronage of the first names in the kingdom. It was from this fund that the one of a similar nature in Paris was copied; but the latter is hitherto far inferior to the former, both in its endowments and its activity.

On the other hand, the *Royal Institution* and the *London Institution* have been copied from the Lyceum in Paris. But in these instances the copies have already equaled, if not surpassed, the original.

We have traced this rapid sketch of what is doing for the advancement of liberal knowledge and public improvements in other countries, for the sake of grouping the whole in one general view; that we may compare their establishments with our situation, our wants, our means, and our prospects; reject what is unsuitable to us, adopt such as would be useful, and organize them as shall be advantageous in our National Institution.

It is proposed, as already observed, that this Institution should combine

the two great objects, *research* and *instruction*. It is expected from every member that he will employ his talent gratuitously in contributing to the *first* of these objects. The *second* will be the special occupation of a branch of the Institution, to be stiled the Professorate. And, as it is expected from the members of this branch, that they devote their time as well as talents to the labor of instruction, they will receive a suitable compensation, to be fixed by the board of trustees.

The members of the National Institution shall be elected from citizens of the United States, eminent in any of the liberal sciences, whether physical, moral, political, or economical; in literature, arts, agriculture; in mechanical, nautical, or geographical discoveries. The number of members shall at no time exceed the decuple of the number of states, composing the confederation of the United States. But in addition to these, it may elect honorary members abroad, not exceeding in number one half of that of its members. And it may likewise elect corresponding members within the United States, or elsewhere, not exceeding the last-mentioned proportion.

The members of the Institution may divide themselves into several sections, for their more convenient deliberations on the objects of their several pursuits, not exceeding five sections. Each section shall keep a register of its proceedings. It shall be the duty of each section to nominate candidates for members of the Institution, suitable for such section. Which nomination, if there be vacancies, shall entitle such candidates to be ballotted for at the general meetings.

There shall be a Chancellor of the National Institution; whose duty it shall be to superintend its general concerns. He shall, in the first instance, be appointed by the President of the United States; and hold his office during the pleasure of the Institution. He shall preside in its general meetings; direct the order of its deliberations, and sign the diplomas of its members. He shall be president of the board of trustees; and, in consequence of their appropriations, order the payment of monies, and otherwise carry into execution their ordinances and resolutions. He shall be director of the Professorate; order the courses of lectures and other modes of instruction, and objects of study; confer degrees in the central university; appoint examiners, either at the district colleges or at the central university, for the admission of students into the latter; fill vacancies in the Professorate, until the next meeting of the board of trustees; and he shall have power to suspend from office a professor, until the time of such meeting. He shall instruct and direct in their mission, such travelling professors as the board of trustees shall employ, for the objects of science, in our country or abroad.

The board of trustees shall consist of fifteen members; they shall be first appointed by the President of the United States, and hold their office during the pleasure of the Institution. They shall give bonds with surety for the faithful execution of their trust. They and the chancellor are of course members of the Institution. As soon as convenient after their appointment, they are to assemble at the seat of government, elect by ballot fifteen additional members of the Institution, appoint three professors, and transact such other business as they may think proper. But no more than the second fifteen members of the Institution shall be elected, until the last

Wednesday in November next. On which day a general meeting of the Institution shall be held at the seat of government; and the members then present may proceed to elect fifteen additional members. Two months after which, another election of fifteen members may take place; but no more till the November then next. Thus they may proceed to hold two elections in each year, of fifteen members each, if they think proper, till the whole number allowed by law shall be elected. The Institution will fill its own vacancies, and those in the board of trustees, appoint its treasurer and secretaries; and, on all occasions after the first, elect the chancellor.

The chancellor and board of trustees shall have the sole management of the funds of the Institution, whether in lands or movables; they shall organise the Professorate, appoint the professors and other masters and teachers; assign them their compensations, and remove them at pleasure. They shall establish a central university, at or near the seat of government, and such other universities, colleges, and schools of education, as the funds of the Institution will enable them to do, whether in the city of Washington, or in other parts of the United States; and make the necessary regulations for the government and discipline of the same. They may likewise establish printing-presses for the use of the Institution, laboratories, libraries, and apparatus for the sciences and the arts, and gardens for botany and agricultural experiments.

Thus organized, and with proper endowments, the National Institution will be able to expand itself to a large breadth of public utility. It will, by its correspondence, its various establishments, its premiums, its gratuities, and other encouragements, excite a scrupulous attention to the duties of education in every part of the United States. By printing school books in the vast quantities that are wanted, and selling them at prime cost, it will furnish them at one third of the price usually demanded; and by an able selection or composition of such as are best adapted to the purpose, it will give a uniformity to the moral sentiment, a republican energy to the character, a liberal cast to the mind and manners, of the rising and following generations. None will deny that these things are peculiarly essential to the people of this country; for the preservation of their republican principles, and especially of their federal system.

Add to this the advantages that the government will draw, in its projected plans of public improvement, from this facility of concentrating the rays of science upon the most useful objects; from directing the researches of so many of the ablest men in the country, to the best modes of increasing its productions and its happiness; from having a greater choice of young and well-taught engineers, civil and military; as well as mechanicians, architects, geologists; and men versed in the mathematical sciences and political economy.

Attached to the university in Washington, and under the direction of the Institution, might be the best position for the military academy, now at West Point, and likewise for the naval academy, and for the mint of the United States. The patent office is now an embarrassing appendage to the department of state. It might occupy very usefully one of the professors of this university. The machines and models belonging to it would be useful ornaments in a lecture room, where mechanics, hydraulics, and other branches of natural philosophy are taught. Such professor might be the

proper person to examine the applications for patents, and report upon their merits; the chancellor might grant the patent. It might likewise be advantageous, that the trustees, when the state of their funds will permit, should purchase from their proprietors such inventions as, in their opinion, might be of immediate and general use; and perhaps the chancellor might be authorized to refuse patents for impracticable things, and expose to public view such imposters as sometimes apply for them, with the intention of imposing upon the credulous, by selling their fallacious privileges either in whole or in part.

The geographical and mineralogical archives of the nation might be better placed in this university, than elsewhere. Being confided to professors, they might draw advantage from them in the course of their instructions. Thus the Institution might become a general depositary of the results of scientific research; of experiments in art, manufactures, and husbandry; and of discoveries by voyages and travels. In short, no rudiment of knowledge should be below its attention, no height of improvement above its ambition, no corner of an empire beyond its vigilant activity for collecting and diffusing information.

It is hoped that the Legislature, as well as our opulent citizens, will assist in making a liberal endowment for so great an object, and as soon as circumstances will admit; as too much time has already been lost, since the government has taken its definitive stand, in so advantageous a position, for the development of this part of our national resources.

Appendix.

Such is the outline of a system of public instruction that would seem to promise the greatest benefits, and although under present circumstances it is doubtless too extensive to be carried into immediate practice in all its parts, yet there are strong reasons to wish that its general basis may be preserved entire in the law for incorporating the institution, and that such law may be enacted during the present session of Congress. Believing that no possible disadvantage could arise from adopting both of these propositions, we will endeavor to elucidate the advantages by a few additional observations.

(1) As we must solicit donations from individual citizens, and depend principally on them for its endowment, we ought to have a basis on which they can repose their confidence. This can only be done by a board of trustees, standing on the ground of a corporation, whose object is clearly defined, and which is composed of men of known character and responsibility, anxious themselves to promote the object and pledged in honor and reputation for its ultimate success.

(2) The present seems to be a more favorable moment for an establishment of this kind, and especially for obtaining donations, than can be expected to arrive hereafter. A general opinion now prevails that education has been too much and too long neglected in most parts of our country; and this opinion is happily accompanied by a liberal spirit on the subject, a spirit worthy of the age and country in which we live, and of the government that conducts our affairs. It is a patriotic spirit, that only requires to be directed, but if not directed, may soon be lost. The opinions and dispositions of men are changeable. The race of patriarchs who framed

our political systems, and are peculiarly solicitous to secure their permanent support, are passing off the stage of public life. Children are growing up to take the legacy we are bequeathing them, insensible of its value, and ignorant of the means by which it can be preserved. It will seem as if we had labored in vain, if we leave our work but half accomplished, and surely the task of preserving liberty, if not as bold, is at least as difficult, as that of acquiring it.

To acquire liberty, comparatively speaking, is the work of few; to preserve it is the sober and watchful business of all. In the first operation a group of well informed, enthusiastic, and patriotic leaders step forward to the field of danger, impress their own energy on the multitude of followers, who can not go wrong because the object is palpable and clearly understood; but in the second, the impetuosity of enthusiasm is no longer the weapon to be used. The mass of the people are masters, they must be instructed in their work, and they may justly say that when their leaders taught them how to gain their liberty they contracted the obligation to teach them how to use it.

(3) The institution, though established on the broad foundation we here propose, will begin upon a small scale; no longer than its means will render convenient and the magnitude of the prospective will not discourage its infant exertions, but rather increase them. Its expenditures will not be greater in the beginning than they would be if it were always to be confined to the narrow compass in which it will move at first. It will immediately open a few schools at Washington, where they are much wanted. It may soon begin to receive donations for this and other objects; and by its correspondence it will be learning the wants of the different districts of the United States, and directing its inquiries how to supply them.

(4) It is believed that several men of science, without any compensation but the pleasure of being useful, may be engaged to give courses of lectures during the next winter on some of the higher branches of knowledge, such as chemistry, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, political economy, medicine, and jurisprudence, that it may no longer be said of the Capital of the United States that it offers no attractions as a winter residence to strangers or citizens; no amusements but such as are monotonous and unimproving; nothing to variegate the scene and enliven the labors of those whom the confidence of their country has called to this place to manage her great concerns. A few courses of lectures on these subjects, announced in the public papers, to be delivered next winter would draw to this place many young men from the different States, who, being at a loss for the means of finishing their education, are often driven to Europe for that purpose. This would be a beginning for the university and lead to its interior organization. It would help to bring the institution into notice, be the means of augmenting its endowments, and enable the trustees to devise measures for some of their buildings.

(5) It ought not to be forgotten that a central institution of this kind in the United States would not only remove the disadvantages that our young men now experience in being obliged to obtain a European education, but it would federalize, as well as republicanize, their education at home. Coming together from all parts of the Union, at an age when impressions on the mind are not easily effaced, the bent of intellect will attain a similarity in all, diversified only by what nature had done before; their moral characters would be cast in a kindred mould; they would form friendships, which

their subsequent pursuits in life would never destroy. This would greatly tend to strengthen the political union of the States, a union which, though founded on permanent interest, can only be supported by a permanent sense of that interest. In addition to the other advantages of study, we ought to notice the great political school that will open to the student during the sessions of Congress; the school of jurisprudence in the federal courts; the constant examples of enlarged ideas, and paternal solicitude for the national welfare, which he will see in the several departments of the Executive Government.

When the men, who shall have finished their education in this central seat, shall return to it in maturer life, clothed with the confidence of their fellow-citizens, to assist in the councils of the nation, the scene will enliven the liberal impressions of youth, combined with the cautious that experience will have taught. They will bring from home the feelings and interests of their own districts, and they will mingle them here with those of the nation. From such men the Institution may perceive the good it may have done; and from them it will learn what new openings may be found in the different States, for the extention of its benefits.

WASHINGTON, *January 24th*, 1806.

APPENDIX D.

THE MORRILL ACT.*

AN ACT donating Public Lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there be granted to the several States, for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, an amount of public land, to be apportioned to each State a quantity equal to thirty thousand acres for each senator and representative in Congress to which the States are respectively entitled by the apportionment under the census of eighteen hundred and sixty: *Provided*, That no mineral lands shall be selected or purchased under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*. That the land aforesaid, after being surveyed, shall be apportioned to the several States in sections or subdivisions of sections, not less than one quarter of a section; and whenever there are public lands in a State subject to sale at private entry at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, the quantity to which said State shall be entitled shall be selected from such lands within the limits of such State, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to issue to each of the States in which there is not the quantity of public lands subject to sale at private entry at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, to which said State may be entitled under the provisions of this act, land scrip to the amount in acres for the deficiency of its distributive share; said scrip to be sold by said States and the proceeds thereof applied to the uses and purposes prescribed in this act, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever: *Provided*, That in no case shall any State to which land scrip

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* Introduced in the House of Representatives by the Hon. Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, and approved by President Lincoln, July 2, 1862.

may thus be issued be allowed to locate the same within the limits of any other State, or of any Territory of the United States, but their assignees may thus locate said land scrip upon any of the unappropriated lands of the United States subject to sale at private entry at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre: *And provided further*, That not more than one million acres shall be located by such assignees in any one of the States: *And provided further*, That no such location shall be made before one year from the passage of this act.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That all the expenses of management, superintendence, and taxes from date of selection of said lands, previous to their sales, and all expenses incurred in the management and disbursement of the moneys which may be received therefrom, shall be paid by the States to which they may belong, out of the treasury of said States, so that the entire proceeds of the sale of said lands shall be applied without any diminution whatever to the purposes hereinafter mentioned.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That all moneys derived from the sale of the lands aforesaid by the State to which the lands are apportioned, and from the sales of land scrip hereinbefore provided for, shall be invested in stocks of the United States, or of the States, or some other safe stocks, yielding not less than five per centum upon the par value of said stocks; and that the moneys so invested shall constitute a perpetual fund, the capital of which shall remain forever undiminished, (except so far as may be provided in section fifth of this act,) and the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated, by each State which may take and claim the benefit of this act, to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the grant of land and land scrip hereby authorized shall be made on the following conditions, to which, as well as to the provisions hereinbefore contained, the previous assent of the several States shall be signified by legislative acts:

First. If any portion of the fund invested, as provided by the foregoing section, or any portion of the interest thereon, shall, by any action or contingency be diminished or lost, it shall be replaced by the State to which it belongs, so that the capital of the fund shall remain forever undiminished; and the annual interest shall be regularly applied without diminution to the purposes mentioned in the fourth section of this act, except that a sum, not exceeding ten per centum upon the amount received by any State under the provisions of this act, may be expended for the purchase of lands for sites or experimental farms, whenever authorized by the respective legislatures of said States.

Second. No portion of said fund, nor the interest thereon, shall be applied, directly or indirectly, under any pretense whatever, to the purchase, erection, preservation, or repair of any building or buildings.

Third. Any State which may take and claim the benefit of the provisions of this act shall provide, within five years, at least not less than one

college, as described in the fourth section of this act, or the grant to such State shall cease; and said State shall be bound to pay the United States the amount received of any lands previously sold, and that the title to purchasers under the State shall be valid.

Fourth. An annual report shall be made regarding the progress of each college, recording any improvements and experiments made, with their costs and results, and such other matters, including State industrial and economical statistics, as may be supposed useful; one copy of which shall be transmitted by mail free, by each, to all the other colleges which may be endowed under the provisions of this act, and also one copy to the Secretary of the Interior.

Fifth. When lands shall be selected from those which have been raised to double the minimum price, in consequence of railroad grants, they shall be computed to the States at the maximum price, and the number of acres proportionally diminished.

Sixth. No State while in a condition of rebellion or insurrection against the government of the United States shall be entitled to the benefit of this act.

Seventh. No State shall be entitled to the benefits of this act unless it shall express its acceptance thereof by its legislature within two years from the date of its approval by the President.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That land scrip issued under the provisions of this act shall not be subject to location until after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the land officers shall receive the same fees for locating land scrip issued under the provisions of this act as is now allowed for the location of military bounty land warrants under existing laws: *Provided*, their maximum compensation shall not be thereby increased.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the Governors of the several States to which scrip shall be issued under this act shall be required to report annually to Congress all sales made of such scrip until the whole shall be disposed of, the amount received for the same, and what appropriation has been made of the proceeds. Approved, July 2, 1862.

THE HATCH ACT.*

[Forty-ninth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 314, Statutes of the United States, vol. xxiv., page 440.]

AN ACT to establish agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges established in the several States under the provisions of an act approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and of the acts supplementary thereto.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to aid in acquiring and diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects connected with agriculture, and to promote scientific investigation and experiment respecting the principles and applications of

* Introduced in the House of Representatives in 1885 by the Hon. William H. Hatch, of Missouri, and approved by President Cleveland March 2, 1887.

agricultural science, there shall be established, under direction of the college or colleges or agricultural department of colleges in each State or Territory established, or which may hereafter be established, in accordance with the provisions of an act approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, entitled "An act donating public lands to the several States and Territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts," or any of the supplements to said act, a department to be known and designated as an "agricultural experiment station:" *Provided*, That in any State or Territory in which two such colleges have been or may be so established the appropriation hereinafter made to such State or Territory shall be equally divided between such colleges, unless the legislature of such State or Territory shall otherwise direct.

SEC. 2. That it shall be the object and duty of said experiment stations to conduct original researches or verify experiments on the physiology of plants and animals; the diseases to which they are severally subject, with the remedies for the same; the chemical composition of useful plants at their different stages of growth; the comparative advantages of rotative cropping as pursued under a varying series of crops; the capacity of new plants or trees for acclimation; the analysis of oils and water; the chemical composition of manures, natural or artificial, with experiments designed to test their comparative effects on crops of different kinds; the adaptation and value of grasses and forage plants; the composition and digestibility of the different kinds of food for domestic animals; the scientific and economic questions involved in the production of butter and cheese; and such other researches or experiments bearing directly on the agricultural industry of the United States as may in each case be deemed advisable, having due regard to the varying conditions and needs of the respective States or Territories.

SEC. 3. That in order to secure, as far as practicable, uniformity of methods and results in the work of said stations, it shall be the duty of the United States Commissioner of Agriculture to furnish forms, as far as practicable, for the tabulation of results of investigation or experiments; to indicate from time to time, such lines of inquiry as to him shall seem most important; and, in general, to furnish such advice and assistance as will best promote the purposes of this act. It shall be the duty of each of said stations annually, on or before the first day of February, to make to the governor of the State or Territory in which it is located a full and detailed report of its operations, including a statement of receipts and expenditures, a copy of which report shall be sent to each of said stations, to the said Commissioner of Agriculture, and to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 4. That bulletins or reports of progress shall be published at said stations at least once in three months, one copy of which shall be sent to each newspaper in the States or Territories in which they are respectively located, and to such individuals actually engaged in farming as may request the same, and as far as the means of the station will permit. Such bulletins or reports and the annual reports of said stations shall be transmitted in the mails of the United States free of charge for postage, under such regulations as the Postmaster-General may from time to time prescribe.

SEC. 5. That for the purpose of paying the necessary expenses of conduct-

ing investigations and experiments and printing and distributing the results as hereinbefore described, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars per annum is hereby appropriated to each State, to be specially provided for by Congress in the appropriations from year to year, and to each Territory entitled under the provisions of section eight of this act, out of any money in the Treasury proceeding from the sales of public lands, to be paid in equal quarterly payments, on the first day of January, April, July, and October in each year, to the treasurer or other officer duly appointed by the governing boards of said colleges to receive the same, the first payment to be made on the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven: *Provided, however*, That out of the first annual appropriation so received by any station an amount not exceeding one-fifth may be expended in the erection, enlargement, or repair of a building or buildings necessary for carrying on the work of such station; and thereafter an amount not exceeding five per centum of such annual appropriation may be so expended.

SEC. 6. That whenever it shall appear to the Secretary of the Treasury from the annual statement of receipts and expenditures of any of said stations that a portion of the preceding annual appropriation remains unexpended, such amount shall be deducted from the next succeeding annual appropriation to such station, in order that the amount of money appropriated to any station shall not exceed the amount actually and necessarily required for its maintenance and support.

SEC. 7. That nothing in this act shall be construed to impair or modify the legal relation existing between any of the said colleges and the government of the States or Territories in which they are respectively located.

SEC. 8. That in States having colleges entitled under this section to the benefits of this act and having also agricultural experiment stations established by law separate from said colleges, such States shall be authorized to apply such benefits to experiments at stations so established by such States; and in case any State shall have established under the provisions of said act of July second aforesaid, an agricultural department or experimental station, in connection with any university, college, or institution not distinctively an agricultural college or school, and such State shall have established or shall hereafter establish a separate agricultural college or school, which shall have connected therewith an experimental farm or station, the legislature of such State may apply in whole or in part the appropriation by this act made, to such separate agricultural college or school, and no legislature shall by contract express or implied disable itself from so doing.

SEC. 9. That the grants of money* authorized by this act are made subject to the legislative assent of the several States and Territories to the purposes of said grants: *Provided*, That payment of such instalments of the appropriation herein made as shall become due to any State before the adjournment of the regular session of its legislature meeting next after the passage of this act shall be made upon the assent of the governor thereof duly certified to the Secretary of the Treasury.

SEC. 10. Nothing in this act shall be held or construed as binding the United States to continue any payment from the Treasury to any or all the

* The grants of money to carry out the provisions of this act amounted in 1887–88 to $585,000, in 1888–89 to $595,000, in 1889–90 to $600,000, and for 1890–91 the amount estimated is $630,000.

States or institutions mentioned in this act, but Congress may at any time amend, suspend, or repeal any or all the provisions of this act.

Approved, March 2, 1887.

APPENDIX E.

A LIST OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND FEDERAL-LAND-GRANT COLLEGES, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR ORGANIZATION.

NOTE.—Most of the State Universities owe their origin wholly or in part to federal land grants in connection with the Morrill Act, or by special acts passed by Congress. The thirteen original States and six others have received no land grants, except for agricultural and mechanical colleges. All the territories have had land grants for educational purposes, except the District of Columbia and Alaska. Of the thirteen original States only four—Virginia, Georgia, and North and South Carolina—have founded and maintained State universities; six—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire—founded in colonial days institutions which have become practically State universities; New York, though fairly liberal to its colleges, has never concentrated its patronage; Maryland and Delaware have practically ignored the university question. In the other States without grants—Vermont, Maine, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia—the efforts to found State institutions have been attended with much difficulty, and it is evident to one who studies the subject that their educational systems are probably much less prosperous than they would have been had they received assistance from the general government similar to that given their sister States.*

In the following list institutions wholly or in part supported by the State are designated by the symbol †. Institutions organized or extended in scope in connection with the Morrill Act of 1862 are designated by the symbol *. Institutions maintained in connection with the Hatch Act are designated by the symbol △. Institutions whose names are indented, are subordinated to those which precede them.

The total amount of land given by the general government, for State educational work, has been 1,995,920 acres. The total amount appropriated by the States for higher education is shown by Blackmar to have been $27,475,646.

I am indebted to Prof. F. W. Blackmar, Prof. W. O. Atwater, and Mr. A. C. True for the facts embodied in the following tables:

ALABAMA.

(Territory, 1817; State, 1819; Land Grant, 1818-19.)

† UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA, Tuscaloosa, 1819-21.

* ALABAMA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE, Auburn, 1872.

△ AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Auburn, 1883.

△ † CANEBRAKE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Uniontown, 1885.

Alabama Historical Society, Tuscaloosa, 1851.

No scientific society in the State.

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*See Blackmar's: "Federal and State Aid to Higher Education."

ALASKA.

(Territory, 1872.)

No colleges.

Alaska Historical Society, Sitka, 1890.
Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology, Sitka, 1887.

ARIZONA.

(Territory, 1863; Land Grant, 1881.)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, Tucson, 1889.
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE, UNIV. OF ARIZONA, Tucson, 1889.
No historical or scientific society.

ARKANSAS.

(Territory, 1819; State, 1836; Land Grant, 1836.)

*† ARKANSAS INDUSTRIAL UNIVERSITY, Fayetteville, 1868–72.
△ ARKANSAS AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Fayetteville, 1888.
(Sub-stations at Pine Bluff, Newport, and Texarkana.)
Arkansas Historical Society, Little Rock.
No scientific society.

CALIFORNIA.

(Territory, 1846; State, 1850; Land Grant, 1853.)

†* UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, Berkeley, 1868–69.
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE, MECHANICS, MINING, ENGINEERING, AND CHEMISTRY, UNIV. OF CAL., Berkeley, 1866–68.
△ AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, UNIV. OF CAL., Berkeley, 1876 and 1888.
(Outlying stations at Paso Robles, Tulare, Jackson, Cupertino, Fresno, Mission San José.)
California Historical Society, San Francisco.
California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, 1854.

COLORADO.

(Territory, 1861; State, 1876; Land Grant, 1875.)

† UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, Boulder, 1875–77.
* STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Ft. Collins, 1879.
△ AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION OF COLORADO, Ft. Collins, 1888.
(Sub-stations at Del Norte and Rocky Ford.)
† STATE SCHOOL OF MINES, Golden, 1874.
Colorado State Historical Society, Denver.
Colorado Scientific Society, Denver.

CONNECTICUT.

(Settled, 1634; State, 1788.)

YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, 1700.
* SHEFFIELD SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL OF YALE UNIVERSITY, 1847 and 1864.
△† CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, New Haven, 1875 and 1877.
STORRS AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL, Mansfield, 1881.
STORRS SCHOOL AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, 1888.
Connecticut Academy of Sciences, New Haven, 1799.
Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, 1825.

DAKOTA, NORTH.

(Territory of Dakota, 1861; State, 1889; Land Grant, 1881.)

(†) UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA, Grand Forks, 1883–4.
NORTH DAKOTA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Fargo, 1890.
No State historical or scientific society.

DAKOTA, SOUTH.

(State, 1889; Land Grant, 1881.)

(†) UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA, Vermillion, 1883.
† SOUTH DAKOTA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Brookings, 1889.
SOUTH DAKOTA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Brookings, 1888.
SOUTH DAKOTA SCHOOL OF MINES, Rapid City, 1886.
No State historical or scientific society.

DELAWARE.

(Settled, 1638; State, 1787.)

† * DELAWARE COLLEGE, Newark, 1834, 1851, and 1871.
△ DELAWARE COLLEGE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Newark, 1888.
Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1884.
No scientific society.

FLORIDA.

(Territory, 1821; State, 1845; Land Grant, 1845.)

* FLORIDA STATE AG'L AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE, Lake City, 1884.
△ AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION OF FLORIDA, Lake City, 1888.
Historical Society of Florida, St. Augustine.

GEORGIA.

(Settled, 1732; State, 1788.)

† * UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, Athens, [1784], 1801.
GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, Athens, 1872.
△ GEORGIA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Athens, 1888.

SOUTHWEST GEORGIA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, UNIV. OF GA., Cuthbert, 1879.

NORTH GEORGIA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, UNIV. OF GA., Dahlonega, 1873.

WEST GEORGIA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE, Hamilton, 1882.

MIDDLE GEORGIA MILITARY AND AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, UNIV. OF GA., Milledgeville, 1880.

SOUTH GEORGIA COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND THE MECHANIC ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, Thomasville, 1879.

† ATLANTA UNIVERSITY (colored), Atlanta, 1859.

Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, 1839.

No scientific society.

ILLINOIS.

(Territory, 1809; State, 1818; Land Grants, 1804 and 1818.)

† UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, Urbana, 1868. (Formerly Illinois Industrial University.

* COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, Urbana, 1867.

△ AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, Champaign, 1888.

Illinois State Historical Society, Champaign.

No State scientific society.

INDIANA.

(Territory, 1800; State, 1816; Land Grants, 1804 and 1816.)

† INDIANA UNIVERSITY, Bloomington, 1820–'26. (Successor to Vincennes University, 1806.

" PURDUE UNIVERSITY," Lafayette, 1874.

* SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE, HORTICULTURE, AND VETERINARY SCIENCE OF PURDUE UNIVERSITY, Lafayette, 1873.

△ AGRICULTURAL STATION OF INDIANA, Lafayette, 1887.

Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 1832.

Indiana Academy of Sciences (unlocalized), 1885.

IOWA.

(Territory, 1838; State, 1846; Land Grant, 1845.)

† STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, Iowa City, 1847–'60.

* IOWA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS, Ames, 1858; opened for students October 21, 1868.

△ IOWA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Ames, 1888.

Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City.

Davenport Academy of Sciences, Davenport, 1867.

Iowa Academy of Sciences, Iowa City, 1875.

KANSAS.

(Territory, 1857; State, 1861; Land Grant, 1861.)

† UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, Lawrence, 1861–'66.
* KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Manhattan, 1863.
Δ KANSAS AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Manhattan, 1888.
Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.
Kansas Academy of Science, Topeka, 1863.

KENTUCKY.

(State, 1792.)

* AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF KENTUCKY, Lexington, 1865; reorganized 1880. (Successor to Transylvania University, organized 1798.)
Δ KENTUCKY AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Lexington, 1885.
Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort.
No State scientific society.

LOUISIANA.

(Territory, 1803; State, 1812; Land Grants, 1806, 1811, 1827.)

TULANE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA, New Orleans, 1847.
† SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY (colored), New Orleans, 1880.
†* LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE, Baton Rouge, 1873; reorganized 1877.
Δ † { SUGAR EXPERIMENT STATION No. 1, Kenner, 1885.
" " " " 2, Baton Rouge, 1886.
NORTH LOUISIANA EXPERIMENT STATION, Calhoun, 1888.
Louisiana Historical Society, Baton Rouge.
No State scientific society.

MAINE.

(Settled, 1622; State, 1820.)

* MAINE STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND THE MECHANIC ARTS, Orono, 1865.[1]
Δ MAINE STATE COLLEGE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Orono, 1885 and 1887.
Maine Historical Society, Portland, 1822.
No State scientific society.

MARYLAND.

(Settled, 1631; State 1788.)

[UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, organized 1784, abandoned 1805.]
* MARYLAND AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Agricultural College [1856], 1859.

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[1] State grants have been made to Bowdoin College, 1794–1802, and to Colby University, formerly Waterville College, 1818.

△ MARYLAND AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Agricultural College, 1888.

Maryland Academy of Sciences, 1822.
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS.

(Settled 1620; State, 1788.)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, 1636.[1]
* MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, Boston, 1863–'65.
* MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Amherst, 1856, 1863, and 1867.
† MASSACHUSETTS STATE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Amherst, 1882 and 1888.
△ HATCH EXPERIMENT STATION OF MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Amherst, 1888.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1780.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

MICHIGAN.

(Territory, 1805; State, 1836; Land Grant, 1836.)

† UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Ann Arbor [1817], 1836, 1840.
* MICHIGAN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Agricultural College [1855], 1857.
△ EXPERIMENT STATION OF MICHIGAN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Agricultural College, 1888.

Historical Society of Michigan, Detroit.
No academy of sciences.

MINNESOTA.

(Territory, 1849; State, 1858; Land Grants, 1857, 1861, and 1870.)

†* UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, Minneapolis [1857], 1868.
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, Saint Anthony Park, 1868.
† STATE SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, Saint Anthony Park, 1888.
△ AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, Saint Anthony Park, 1888.

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.
Minnesota Academy of Science, Minneapolis, 1873.
St. Paul Academy of Sciences, St. Paul.

MISSISSIPPI.

(Territory, 1798; State, 1817; Land Grants, 1803, 1819.)

[JEFFERSON COLLEGE, Washington, 1803—discontinued.]
† UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI, Oxford, 1874.

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[1] The appropriations by the State to Harvard have amounted to $784,793, in addition to 46,000 acres of land. The State has also given $157,500 to Williams, and $52,500 to Amherst.—BLACKMAR.

* AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF MISSISSIPPI, Agricultural College (Starkville), 1880.
△ MISSISSIPPI AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Agricultural College, 1888.
* ALCORN AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE (colored), Rodney, 1871, reorganized in 1878.

Mississippi Historical Society, Jackson.
No academy of sciences.

MISSOURI.

(Territory, 1812; State, 1821; Land Grants, 1818 and 1820.)

†* UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, Columbia [1820], 1839.
MISSOURI AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, Columbia, 1870.
△ MISSOURI AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Columbia, 1881.
* MISSOURI SCHOOL OF MINES AND METALLURGY OF THE UNIV. OF MO., Rolla, 1870.

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.
St. Louis Academy of Sciences, 1857.

MONTANA.

(Territory, 1864; Land Grant, 1881.)

COLLEGE OF MONTANA, Deer Lodge, 1883.
Montana Historical Society, Helena.

NEBRASKA.

(Territory, 1859; State, 1867; Land Grant, 1881.)

†* UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA, Lincoln, 1869.
INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA, Lincoln, 1869; opened for students 1871.
△ AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION OF NEBRASKA, Lincoln, 1887.

Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, 1878.
No scientific society.

NEVADA.

(Territory, 1861; State, 1864; Land Grant, 1866.)

†* STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, Reno [1865], 1874.
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE OF THE NEVADA STATE UNIVERSITY, Reno, 1877.
△ NEVADA STATE AGRICULTURAL STATION, Reno.

No scientific or historical society.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

(Settled, 1629; State, 1788.)

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Hanover [1758], 1770.
* NEW HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND THE MECHANIC ARTS (in connection with Dartmouth College), Hanover, [1866], 1868.

△ NEW HAMPSHIRE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Hanover, 1888.

New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, 1823.
No academy of science.

NEW JERSEY.

(Settled, 1614–20; State, 1787.)

COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY, Princeton, 1746.

RUTGERS SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL OF RUTGERS COLLEGE, New Brunswick. Made State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts [1864], 1865.

† NEW JERSEY STATE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, New Brunswick, 1880.

△ NEW JERSEY AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE EXPERIMENT STATION, New Brunswick, 1888.

New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, 1845.
No academy of science.

NEW MEXICO.

(Territory 1850; Land Grant, 1854.)

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, Santa Fé, 1881.

† AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE OF NEW MEXICO, Las Cruses. Established by Territorial Legislature, 1888–89.

Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fé.

NEW YORK.

Settled, 1613; State, 1788.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, 1787, is not a teaching body. It is in indirect relationship with Columbia College, 1754, Union College, Hamilton College, and numerous collegiate and technical schools.

* CORNELL UNIVERSITY, Ithaca [1865], 1868.

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY, Ithaca, 1888.

△ CORNELL UNIVERSITY AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Ithaca, 1879.

† NEW YORK AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Geneva, 1882.

New York Historical Society, New York, 1804.
New York Academy of Sciences, 1817.

NORTH CAROLINA.

(Settled 1653; State, 1789.)

† UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, Chapel Hill [1789], 1795.

* NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS, Raleigh. Established by State, 1889.

△ † NORTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Raleigh, 1877 and 1887.

OHIO.

(Territory, 1788; State, 1803; Land Grants, 1792 and 1803.)

OHIO UNIVERSITY, Athens, 1804.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, Oxford, 1809, 1816.

† * OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, Columbus. Chartered 1870; organized, September 17, 1873.

△ OHIO AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Columbus, 1882 and 1888.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati.
No State scientific society.

OREGON.

(Territory, 1848; State, 1859.)

† UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, Eugene City, [1850], 1876.

* OREGON STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Corvallis, 1888.

△ OREGON EXPERIMENT STATION, Corvallis, 1888.

Pioneer and Historical Society, Astoria.
No scientific society.

PENNSYLVANIA.

(Settled, 1626; State, 1787.)

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, 1751.

* PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE, State College, 1859, 1862, and 1874.

△ † PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, State College, 1887.

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1769.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1824.

RHODE ISLAND.

(Settled, 1636; State, 1790.)

* BROWN UNIVERSITY, Providence, 1764.

AGRICULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY, Providence.

† RHODE ISLAND STATE AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL, Kingston, 1888.

△ RHODE ISLAND STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE EXPERIMENTAL STATION, Kingston, 1888.

Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

(Settled, 1670; State, 1788.)

† * UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, Columbia, 1801; reorganized, 1865.

SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, Columbia, 1879.

△ SOUTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Columbia, 1888.

* CLAFLIN UNIVERSITY AND SOUTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AND MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, (Dept. of Univ. of S. C.) Orangeburg, 1872.

South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

TENNESSEE.

(Territory, 1790; State, 1796.)

UNIVERSITY OF NASHVILLE (Cumberland College), 1806; discontinued, 1875.

†* UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, Knoxville, 1806.

STATE AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, Knoxville, 1869.

Δ TENNESSEE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Knoxville, 1882 and 1887.

Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville.

TEXAS.

(Annexed, 1846; State, 1845.)

† UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, Austin [1839], 1866.

* STATE AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF TEXAS, College Station [1871], 1876.

Δ TEXAS AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, College Station, 1888.

No historical or scientific society.

UTAH.

(Territory, 1850; Land Grant, 1855.)

UNIVERSITY OF DESERET, Salt Lake City, 1850.

† UTAH AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Logan City. Established by Territorial Legislature, March 8, 1888.

VERMONT.

(Settled, 1755–58; State, 1791.)

* UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT [1791], 1800, and
STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Burlington, 1865–'67.

Δ† VERMONT STATE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Burlington, 1887.

Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier.

VIRGINIA.

(Settled, 1609; State, 1788.)

[COLLEGE OF HENRICO. Projected in 1620.]

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, Williamsburgh, 1691.

† UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, Charlottesville, 1819.

* VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE, Blacksburg, 1872.

Δ VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, Blacksburg, 1888.

* HAMPTON NORMAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE, Hampton, Organized by American Missionary Society, April, 1868; reorganized under charter from State, June, 1870.

Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, 1831.

WASHINGTON.

(Territory, 1853; State, 1889.)

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, Seattle, 1862.

WEST VIRGINIA.

(State, 1862.)

†* WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, Morgantown, 1867.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, Morgantown.

Δ WEST VIRGINIA EXPERIMENT STATION, Morgantown, 1888.

West Virginia Historical Society, Morgantown.

WISCONSIN.

(Territory, 1836; State, 1847; Land Grants, 1846 and 1854.)

†* UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, Madison [1838], 1848.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, Madison, 1866.

Δ † AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, Madison, 1883 and 1888.

Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Madison, 1870.

WYOMING.

(Territory, 1868; State, 1889.)

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING, Laramie City.

Wyoming Academy of Arts, Science, and Letters, Cheyenne.

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At the time of his death, September 17, 1889, he had just completed a work on the campaigns in Virginia, from June 17, 1862 to the battle of Chancellorsville, which, it is hoped, will be published during the current year.

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The Waterbury American, December 31, 1875.

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This was written for Sharpe's History of Seymour, Conn. John Bower was of class of 1649, Harvard College, and first classical school teacher at New Haven.

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"Life's race well run,
Life's work well done,
Life's crown well won,
Now comes rest."

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Opinions of Prominent Americans on the Employment of Indians in War.
Events at the North not connected with the Six Nations.
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Connecticut Settlers in Pennsylvania.
Bounties for Scalps.

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This paper relates to the publications at Cambridge, by Daye & Green, up to 1654, and is based upon a memorandum found among the Dunster MSS. in the archives of Harvard College.

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Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October 22, 1888. 8vo.

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In this paper an attempt is made to identify the spot where the first college building stood at Cambridge.

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Edition, 200 copies.

Dolor Davis was an early settler of Massachusetts.

DAVIS, HORACE. American Constitutions. The relations of the three departments as adjusted by a century.

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DAVIS, J. C. BANCROFT. History of Slavery in the United States.

London Times, December, 1860.

This history was reprinted in book form, 12mo, in 1861, and published by Sampson, Low & Co., in London.

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visions of the treaty between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, concluded at Washington, May 8, 1871. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871.

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These notes, together with an analytical index of the treaties, were prepared in the summer of 1873, and were, in the autumn of that year, printed and bound in with the remaining copies (about 800 in all) of an edition of the treaties transmitted to the Senate February 1, 1871, and printed as Senate Executive Document No. 36, third session, Forty-first Congress. A new title page was inserted, with the words "Revised Edition" printed on it, and also a preface explaining the facts. In 1889 these notes were reprinted in an edition of the treaties, edited by Mr. John H. Haswell.

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An article in Volume III of *Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States*, Chicago, 1884.

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Pp. 280.

This appendix forms part of Volume 131 of the United States Reports, and contains the following historical papers:

(a) Federal courts before the adoption of the Constitution. I. Federal courts of appeal in prize cases. II. Courts for determining disputes and differences between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any cause whatever.

(b) List of cases in which statutes or ordinances have been held to be repugnant to the Constitution or laws of the United States, in whole or in part, by the Supreme Court of the United States, from the organization of the court to the end of October term, 1888.

DAVIS, ROBERT MEANS. A sketch of Education in South Carolina. By R. Means Davis, Professor of History and Political Science in South Carolina College. Chapter IV of "South Carolina: Resources and Population, Institutions and Industries. Published by the State Board of Agriculture of South Carolina, Charleston, S. C." Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1883.

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Edition, 5,000 copies.

Contents of sketch: (1) Historical sketch; (2) Public school system; (3) Schools in Charleston; (4) Schools in Columbia; (5) Charitable and educational associations; (6) Private schools; (7) Higher education for males; (8) Military instruction and training for males; (9) Higher education for females; (10) Professional and special instruction; (11) Education of colored race; (12) Periodical literature; (13) Illiteracy; (14) Appendix.

DAVIS, W. W. H. El Gringo; or New Mexico and her People. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1857.

12mo, pp. 432. 13 plates.

Edition, 1,000 copies.

DAVIS, W. W. H. History of the Rebellion in Milford Township, Bucks County, Pa., 1798.

The Doylestown (Pa.) *Democrat Weekly*, beginning January 3, 1860, and ending March 13, 1860, equivalent to 238, 8vo pages.

The "Milford Rebellion," as it is known in history, was an insurrectionary movement against the home-tax and other direct taxes, and broke out the fall of 1798 in Milford Township, Bucks County, Pa. The head and front of it were John Fries, Frederick Heany, and John Getman, all residents of Milford Township. They raised a force of 150 men, including two companies in military array, marched into the neighboring county of Northampton, and released a number of insurgents the authorities had arrested. In the spring of 1799, the President sent an armed force to put down the insurgents, and captured the three leaders. They were tried and convicted, and Fries sentenced to be hanged. Heany and Getman received lighter sentences; all were pardoned. Fries was a patriot in the Revolution, and was twice in the military service.

DAVIS, W. W. H. History of the Battle of the Crooked Billet, Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County, Pa. Fought May 1, 1778, between a detachment of British troops and Pennsylvania militia, under Gen. John Lacey. 1860.

8vo, pp. 19.

Edition, 150 copies.

The proceeds of sale were applied to a fund to erect a monument on the battlefield.

DAVIS, W. W. H. History of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment from August 22, 1861, to September 30, 1864. Published by the author, and printed by James B. Rogers, Philadelphia, Pa. 1866.

8vo, pp. 364. 6 plates.

Edition, 1,500 copies.

The author raised and organized the regiment, and it was part of his command the whole time it was in service.

DAVIS, W. W. H. History of the Hart Family of Warminster, Bucks County, Pa., to which is added the Genealogy of the Family from its First Settlement in America. Privately printed. Doylestown, Pa.: W. W. H. Davis, Publisher, 1867.

8vo, pp. 161. Plate.

Edition, 150 copies.

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Edition, 100 copies.

It was originally published in *Graham's Magazine*, Philadelphia, Pa.

DAVIS, W. W. H. The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico. Doylestown, Pa.: W. W. H. Davis, Publisher, 1869.

8vo, pp. 438. One plate, with map of route of early Spanish explorers.

Edition, 250 copies.

Reviewed in the *New York Tribune* and other newspapers.

This work was written in the old Spanish palace at Santa Fé, N. Mex., where the author had access to Spanish MSS. never before translated. The MS. was read by Mr. Bancroft, the historian, who indorsed and advised its publication.

DAVIS, W. W. H. The History of Bucks County, Pa., from the Discovery of the Delaware to the present time. Doylestown, Pa.: W. W. H. Davis, Publisher, 1876.

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8vo, pp. 212. 6 plates.
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8vo, pp. 238. Plate.
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Edition, 20,000 copies each.

DAWSON, N. H. R. Address before Department of Superintendence, March 1887. Proceedings of Superintendence, 1887. Address upon Alaska, before Department of Superintendence, July, 1888. Proceedings of Superintendence, 1888. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1888. Publishers: Bureau of Education.
Edition, 20,000 copies.

DAWSON, N. H. R. Address at Meeting of National Educational Association, San Francisco, Cal., July, 1888.
Proceedings of Association. Lawrence, Kans., 1888.

DODGE, THEODORE AYRAULT. The Campaign of Chancellorsville. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1881.

8vo, pp. 278.

Two editions, 2,000 copies. Electrotyped.

Four large topographical maps, colored, showing the natural and artificial features of the theater of operations, and the positions of the various Federal and Confederate corps at different periods of the conflict.

Reviewed by leading newspapers and periodicals.

DODGE, THEODORE AYRAULT. A Bird's Eye View of Our Civil War. Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1883.

8vo, pp. 338. 4 maps and 38 battle-plans. Electrotyped.

Reviewed by leading papers and periodicals in the United States and England.

DODGE, THEODORE AYRAULT. Great Captains. A course of six lectures, showing the influence on the art of war of the campaigns of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick, and Napoleon. Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1889.

8vo, pp. 219. 21 battle-charts.

Edition, 1000 copies. Electrotyped.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. A Tale of Leipsic.

Peabody's Parlor Magazine. New York, 1832.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Report to his Excellency Washington Hunt, Governor of the State of New York, etc., etc., on the Subject of the Organizations of the National Guards, and Municipal Military Systems of Europe, and the Artillery and Arms best adapted to the State Service. In pursuance of General Orders No. 111, and Instructions of July 29, 1851. Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen, 1852.

8vo, pp. 247.

There are additional and supplementary reports relating to the State services, a paid fire department with steam fire-engines, fire-escapes, of which one as a pattern was presented to the city of New York, submitted and published or privately printed. It is curious that the uniform, gray, and designations of rank, suggested in the report were adopted by the Southern Army. When first presented the suggestions were very favorably received by the U. S. War Department. Reprinted by order of the New York State legislature, senate documents No. 74, March 26, 1853.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Éclaireur, a Military Journal, Devoted to the Interests of the Military Forces of the State of New York and the Official Military Circular of the 9th Brigade, N. Y. S. M. F. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Platt & Schram, 1853–'55.

After a short period, I not only edited but printed it entirely at my own expense for several years (1853, 1854, 1855, 1856), distributing the copies gratuitously through my militia district and to whoever exhibited any interest in such matters. The files of this paper (which was open to all contributors) contain, in addition to the general and special orders, many military sketches from my pen. My systemized account of the militia systems of Europe, the result of personal examination during a tour (under the authority of the State, indorsed by the United States); my report on a paid fire department with steam-engines and military organization, from data collected on the same tour, together with suggestions on the subject; my translation of the famous Bersaglieri rifle drill and bayonet exercise; a translation of von Hardegg's treatise of the science of the general staff, in itself a considerable volume; a translation of von Hardegg's chronological tables of military science and history; various extracts from military works of interest, were all published in the *Éclaireur*. Among other things, one or more articles dwell upon the advantages of the Napoleon gun, or light 12-pounder, soon after its introduction in Europe and long before it was appreciated here in the United States.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The History of the Life of Leonard Torstenson (Lennart Torstenson), "The Argus-Eyed Briarean-Armed" Senator of Sweden, Count of Ortala, Chief of the Swedish Artillery under, and Generalissimo of the Swedish Armies subsequent to the death of, Gustavus Adolphus. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Platt & Schram, 1855.
8vo, pp. 381.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Gems from Dutch History. (Series.)
Military Gazette, New York, 1855.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Dutch at the North Pole and the Dutch in Maine. A paper read before the New York Historical Society, March 3, 1857. New York, 1857.
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DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Address to the Officers of the New York State Troops, January 19, 1858. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Platt & Schram, 1858.
8vo, pp. 40.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Proofs considered of the Early Settlement of Acadie by the Dutch, being an Appendix to The Dutch in Maine. Poughkeepsie: Platt & Schram, 1858.
8vo, pp. 19.
Edition, 500 copies.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Dutch Battle of the Baltic; one of the Most Glorious Achievements of the Mariners of Holland; a Triumph Worthy the Great Maritime Republic of the United Provinces. Dedicated to the St. Nicholas Society of the city of Nieuw Amsterdam and all true Knikkerbakkers. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Platt & Schram, 1858.
8vo, pp. 88.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The History of Carausius, the Dutch Augustus and Emperor of Britain, Zeeland, Dutch Flanders, Armorica, and The Seas; the Great First Hollandish Admiral, and the First Sailor King of England. With which is interwoven an Historial and Ethnological Account of the Menapii, the Ancient Zeelanders, and Dutch Flemings. Compiled from upwards of two hundred Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Authorities. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Platt & Schram, 1858.
8vo, pp. 335.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Netherlanders, Dutch, and Flemings; being a Synopsis of their Chorographical and Ethnological Relations, as well as a Consideration of their Influence upon the Destinies of England and France. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Platt & Schram, 1859.
8vo, pp. 64.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Invincible Armada. (Series.)
Military Gazette, New York, 1860.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Life of Lieutenant General (famous "Dutch Vauban," styled the "Prince of Engineers") Menno, Baron Cohorn. (Series.)
Military Gazette. New York, 1860.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Examples of Intrepidity, as illustrated by the Exploits and Deaths of the Dutch Admirals. (Series.)
Military Gazette. New York, 1860-'61.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. State Sovereignty. Introductory Remarks. Poughkeepsie: Platt & Schram, 1861.

8vo, pp. 8.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Mortality among Generals. (Series.)

Military Gazette. New York, 1861.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Battle of King's Mountain. (Series.)

Military Gazette. New York, 1861-'62.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Military Lessons. (Series.)

New York Leader, 1861-'63.

This series equaled in quantity a large 8vo volume. The principal matter was a translation from "Documents Necessary to Understand how to carry on War," constituting a supplement to "Evolutions of the Lines," by Col. Lavelaine de Maubeuge, Paris, 1852, but the Lessons were established by an infinitude of examples translated from authorities in German and French or from English treatises on the art and science of war.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. History of the Third Corps, Army of the Potomac, 1861-'65.

This title, although not technically, is virtually, correct, for in a series of elaborate articles in dailies, weeklies, monthlies, monographs, addresses, etc., everything relating to this Corps, even to smallest details, from 1861 to 1865, was prepared with care, and put in print. These articles appeared in the *Citizen*, and the *Citizen and Round Table*; in *Foley's Volunteer*, and *Soldiers' and Sailors' Half-Dime Tales of the late Rebellion*; in Mayne Reid's magazine, *Onward*; in Chaplain Bourne's *Soldiers' Friend*; in "*La Royale or Grand Hunt* [or the Last Campaign] *of the Army of the Potomac*, from Petersburg to Appomattox Court-House, April 2-9, 1865," illustrated with engraved likenesses of several of the prominent generals belonging to the Corps, and careful maps and plans; in the "Life of Major-General Philip Kearny;" in the "Third Corps at Gettysburg; General Sickles Vindicated" * * * Vol. I, Nos. XI, XII, XIII. *The Volunteer*, in a speech delivered before the Third Army Corps Union, 5th May, 1875, profusely illustrated with portraits of generals who commanded or belonged to that organization, etc. These, arranged and condensed, would constitute a work of five or six volumes 8vo, such as those prepared by Prof. John W. Draper, entitled "The Civil War in America," but were never given as bound volumes to the public.

In recognition of labor undergone in presenting the History of the Third Corps, the "Third Corps Union" voted to General de Peyster a most exquisite badge set with jewels—a ruby representing the First, a diamond the Second, and a sapphire the Third Division—to cost $500.

* DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Winter Campaigns the Test of Generalship. New York: Charles G. Stone, printer, 1862.

12mo, pp. 24. Edition, 1,000 copies.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Biographies of the Watts, de Peyster, Reade, and Leake families in connection with Trinity Churchyard. 1862.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Decisive Conflicts of the late Civil War, or Slaveholders' Rebellion. Battles Morally, Territorially, and Militarily Decisive. No. 1. The Maryland Campaign of September, 1862. The Battles of the South Mountain and of the Antietam, Sunday, September 14th, to Wednesday, September 17th, 1862. New York: Macdonald & Co., 1867.

8vo. pp. 76.

No. 11. "Rosecrans and the Army of the Cumberland." The nucleus of this appeared in the *Army and Navy Journal*, 1864. "Chancellorsville," from papers furnished by General Hooker, appeared, in a pamphlet, 8vo, pp. —, New York, 1865, which was suppressed at the request of General Hooker after a few copies were issued.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Genealogical References of Old Colonial Families, etc.

Valentine's Manual. New York, 1863.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Decisive Conflicts of the Great Civil War, or Slaveholders' Rebellion. Battles Morally, Territorially, and Militarily Decisive. No. 3. The Pennsylvania-Maryland Campaign of June-July, 1863. The Battles of Oak (or Seminary) Ridge and Gettysburg, and before, at, and after Gettysburg, and at Williamsport, June 28th to July 14th, 1863. New York: Macdonald & Co., 1867.

8vo, pp. 163.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Practical Strategy, as Illustrated by the Life and Achievements of a Master of the Art, the Austrian Field-Marshal Traun. Catskill, N. Y.: Joseph Jonesbury, 1863.

8vo, pp. 64.

This little work was received with so much approbation that General Hon. Sir Edward Cust, British Army, author of the "Annals of the Wars, 1700-1815," 9 vols., and the "Lives of the Warriors," in the preceding century, 6 vols., prefaces vol. 1 of the series, 1648-1704, with a letter dedicatory of 37 pages to General de Peyster, in which he acknowledges, among other laudatory passages, "the truly valuable hints and suggestions that you have favored me with in your several communications render me largely your debtor, and I am desirous of marking my deep obligations to you by requesting permission to dedicate my concluding volume to you and to your military brethren. We appear to be men of much the same mind and of common sympathies, desirous alike of employing our common language for a common object—that of enlightening our comrades of a common profession with the necessity of applying the precepts of military history to the useful comprehension of their calling, both of us agreeing that the best instruction for all officers is to be acquired from the deeds of the old masters in the art of war."

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Secession in Switzerland and the United States compared; being the Annual Address, delivered 20th October, 1863, before the Vermont State Historical Society, in the Hall of Representatives Capitol, Montpelier, 1864. Catskill: Joseph Jonesbury, Printer, 1864.

8vo, pp. 72.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Sketch of Gen. George H. Thomas. Reprinted from "Representative Men." Atlantic Publishing Company, N. Y.

Royal 8vo.

Three editions. This sketch was founded in part upon conversations with General George H. Thomas. Originally contained certain of his views and criticisms, which were suppressed at the request of Mrs. Thomas.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Organization of the Militia.

Royal 8vo, pp. 12, and published as a supplement to vol. ix of the *Historical Magazine.*

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Duke Christian of Brunswick and Elizabeth Stuart, Princess Royal of England, Electress-Palatine, Queen of Bohemia. New York, 1866.

8vo, pp. 91.

Limited edition, 50 copies. Printed for the author, with biographical sketch of the author, 1865.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Address delivered at Madalin, N. Y., on the occasion of the Inauguration of a Monument to the Defenders who lost their lives in suppressing the Slaveholders' Rebellion. New York, 1867.

8vo, pp. 122.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. A Hero of the XVII. Century (Torstenson).
The Volunteer, Weekly Magazine, vol. 1, No. 1. New York, 1869.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Personal and Military History of Philip Kearny, Major-General United States Volunteers. New York: Rice & Gage. Newark, N. J.: Bliss & Co., 1869.

8vo, pp. 512. Edition, 1,500 copies. Portraits and illustrations.

Besides this first edition proper there was an emission of about 100 copies containing a supplement of what the French styled Justifying Statements, printed especially for the author, issued at the same date.

Second edition profusely illustrated. Publishers: Palmer & Co., Elizabeth, N. J., and James Miller, New York, 1870.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Battles of Gettysburg, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville.

In *Onward*, a magazine, New York.

Gettysburg, vol. I, May, 1869; June, 1869. Vol. II, July, 1869. Fredericksburg, vol. II, September, 1869. Chancellorsville, vol. II, October, 1869; November, 1869; December, 1869. Vol. III, January, 1870; February, 1870; February supplement, 1870.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Military (1776–1779) Transactions of Major, afterwards Colonel, Eighth or King's Foot, B. A. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, and Narrative of the Maritime Discoveries of his Namesake and Nephew Capt. Arent Schuyler de Peyster. New York, 1870.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. La Royale Parts I, II, III, IV, V, and VI. The Grand Hunt of the Army of the Potomac on the 3d-7th (a. m.) April, Petersburg to High Bridge; Maj. Gen. Andrew Atkinson Humphreys and the Combined Second-Third Corps Leading the Pursuit from Jetersville to High Bridge. New York, 1872.

Sm. 4to, pp. 70.

First edition, 100 copies, printed as manuscript for private circulation, with portrait and maps.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Eulogy of Torstenson. Translated from the Swedish of H. R. M. Gustavus III. New York, 1872.

Large 4to, pp. 36.

This composition was a subject for competition before the Royal Swedish Academy. The king was an anonymous aspirant and received therefor the prize medal.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Frederic the Great. (Series.)
New York Weekly Mail, 1873.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Career of the Celebrated Condottieri Fra Morcale.
New York Weekly Mail, 1873.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Thirty Years' War and Military Services of Field Marshal Generalissimo Leonard Torstenson.
New York Weekly Mail, 1873.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Major and Brev. Col. J. Watts de Peyster, Jr., U. S. V., 1874. New York: A. Threnody, 1874.

Royal 8vo.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. La Royale, Part VII. Cumberland Church, or the Heights of Farmville. The Last Stricken Field of the Army of Northern Virginia, 7th April, 1865. New York, 1874.

Sm. 4to, pp. 153. Portrait and maps or plans.

Two hundred copies (1st edition) printed as manuscript for private circulation, but not revised nor corrected.

Second edition revised and corrected. 100 copies. 1874.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Anniversary Address Delivered before the Third Army Corps Union, 5th May, 1875. The Glorious Old Fighting Third Corps as We Understand it. New York: Atlantic Publishing and Engraving Company, 1875.

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DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Major-General George H. Thomas. The Annual Address, Delivered Before the New York Historical Society Tuesday Evening, January 5, 1875. New York: Atlantic Publishing Company, 1875.

4to, pp. 24.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. La Royale, Part VIII. The Last Twenty-Four Hours of the Army of Northern Virginia. New York: Julius R. Huth, Printer, 1872.

Royal 8vo. pp. 48.

100 copies printed as manuscript for private circulation.

This Part VIII was gone over by Major-General Humphreys, and with his few corrections printed in a volume entitled:

La Royale (Part VIII, Amended Edition). The Last Twenty-Four Hours of the Army of Northern Virginia, with Memoranda Relating to Farmville, Fording and Bridging. New York: Charles H. Ludwig.

8vo, pp 179. Edition 500 copies.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Nashville. The Decisive Battle of the Rebellion. Address delivered before the Annual Meeting of the N. Y. Historical Society on Tuesday Evening, 4th January, 1876.

8vo, pp. 14.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Major General Philip Schuyler and the Burgoyne Campaign in the Summer of 1777. The Annual Address delivered Tuesday evening, 2d January, 1877, before the New York Historical Society. New York: Holt Brothers, 1877.

8vo, pp. 26.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Oriskany, 6th August, 1777. The Decisive Collision of the American Revolution. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1878.

4to, pp 6.

Reprint from *Magazine of American History.*

One among those few battles of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes. Among Creasy's XV Decisive Battles from Marathon to Waterloo, Saratoga ranks as XIII. Saratoga, however, was a Series of Collisions; but the tide actually turned at Oriskany, in favor of the Colonies and Freedom.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The engagement at Freehold, known as the Battle of Monmouth, N. J., more properly of Monmouth Court-House, 28th June, 1778. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1878.

Royal 8vo. pp. 7.

Reprinted from the *Magazine of American History*, July 1878.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Monmouth papers.

Monmouth Democrat, Freehold, New Jersey, 1878.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Operations in Rhode Island. Siege of Newport, from "die Deutschen Hülfstruppen im nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783," by Max von Eelking, Hanover, 1863. Volume II, pages 30–44, compiled from the journals of Captain Friedrich V. D. Malsburg Regiment V. Ditfurth—February, 1776, to 16th November, 1780,

and other German officers, eye-witnesses and participants in the affairs described. Translated by J. Watts de Peyster, Brigadier (Brevet Major) General, State of New York. Providence, R. I.: Sidney S. Rider, 1878.

4to, pp. 29.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Battles of Monmouth and Capture of Stony Point.

A series of articles in the *Monmouth Enquirer*. New Jersey, 1879.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Leipsic of Gustavus. Part I.

The Field Glass, April, 1879.

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DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Affair at King's Mountain, 7th October, 1780. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1880.

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Reprinted from the *Magazine of American History*.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Sir John Johnson, The First American Born Baronet. An address delivered before the New York Historical Society at its annual meeting, Tuesday, January 6, 1880, by Maj. Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, M. A., LL.D., F. R. H. S., a member of the Society. New York: Evening Mail Press Room, 1880.

8vo, pp. 12.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Proofs Considered in Connection with the Vindication of Sir John Johnson Bart. Being an Address Delivered before the New York Historical Society, at its Annual Meeting, 6th January, 1880. Appendix I. New York: Evening Mail Press Room, 1880.

8vo, pp. 12.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Proofs Considered in Connection with the Vindication of Sir John Johnson Bart. Being a Second Appendix to an Address Delivered before the New York Historical Society, at its Annual Meeting, Tuesday, 6th January, 1880. New York: Evening Mail Press Room, 1880.

8vo, pp. 24.

This contains the only trustworthy particulars of the Battle of Oriskany and a reprint from the proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. II, 1846–1847, pages 115–122, 127, 128, being a diary.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. War Memoranda of Brig. General H. Edwin Tremain, Major and A. D. C., Brev. Brig. Gen. U. S. V., 1865. New York: C. G. Burgoyne, 1880.

Edited with notes and chapters on Farmville, Fording, etc. General H. Edwin Tremain, Pres. Third Army Corps Union, reprinted by permission, from Sketches of Officers of the Third Army Corps Union.

8vo, pp. 8.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Local Memorials Relating to the de Peyster and Watts and Affiliated Families Connected with Red Hook Township, Dutchess County, State of New York. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1881.

8vo, pp. 80.

Edition, 500 copies.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Battle or Affair of King's Mountain, Saturday, 7th October, 1780. Being the Address Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the New York Historical Society, on the Evening of Tuesday, 4th January, 1881. New York, 1881.

8vo, pp. 8.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Obituary Notices of Major Generals Heintzelman and Hooker, and Mortuary Notices of Major General Joseph B. Kiddo and Brigadier General William B. Tibbitts, Members of the Third Army Corps Union. New York: Chas. H. Ludwig, 1881, for Third Army Corps Union.

12mo, pp. 40.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Obituary Notices of Major Generals Samuel P. Heintzelman and Joseph Hooker. New York: Chas. H. Ludwig, 1881.

12mo, pp. 40.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. In Memorium Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., "Vir Auctoritatus," President of the New York Historical Society, of the New York Society Library, of the St. Nicholas Club, and, at an earlier date, of the St. Nicholas Society, etc.; Honorary Fellow of the Royal Historical Soc ety, of Great Britain; Honorary Member of the Massachusetts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Florida, Buffalo, and Chicago Historical Societies, of the Mercantile Library Association of New York; Corresponding Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, etc. Born Hanover Square, New York City, 11th November, 1796; died Rose Hill, Red Hook, Dutchess County, New York, 17th August, 1882. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1882.

8vo, pp. 52.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Life and Misfortunes and the Military Career of Brig. Gen. Sir John Johnson, Bart. Chas. H. Ludwig, 1882.

4to, pp. 168.

This work has been extensively reviewed.

"The Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson's Oriskany Campaign," copiously annotated by Mr. William L. Stone, an experienced writer on the period and location of the occurrence, has been published for him by Munsell, of Albany. It is accompanied by an historical introduction by the grand-nephew of its subject, General J. W. de Peyster, often a contributor to the *United Service*, written with his usual aggressive ability, evidence of research, and indifference for conflicting opinion, from a strong partisan stand-point. *United Service*, Vol. VIII, February, 1883, pp. 223.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Mary Queen of Scots, a Study. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1882.

8vo, pp. 144.

Edition, 500 copies.

This series of Mary Stuart publications were reviewed most favorably and at length in *The Sun*, in the *United Service*, and in other journals and newspapers at home and abroad.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. A Vindication of James Hepburn, Fourth Earl of Bothwell, Third Husband of Mary Queen of Scots. New York: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1882.

8vo, pp. 60, plates.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Address delivered before the Historical Society of New Brunswick, in the city of St. John, Dominion of Canada, 4th July, 1883. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1883.

8vo, pp. 40.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. An Inquiry into the Career and Character of Mary Stuart ("Crux Criticorum") ("The Puzzle of Critics"), and a Justification of Bothwell ("Audire est Operæ Pretium") ("What is Herein Disclosed is Worthy of Attention"). New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1883.

8vo, pp. 260.
Edition, 500.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Burgoyne Campaign of July-October, 1777. Reprinted from the *United Service* October, 1883. Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1883.

8vo, pp. 17.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Philip Kearny, Major General U. S. V. By his Cousin, John Watts de Peyster, Brev. Maj. Gen., New York [being a biographical introduction to "Service with the French in Africa, by an officer, Lieut. P. Kearny, jr., First Dragoons, in the United States Army"] Privately printed. New York, 1884.

8vo, pp. 19.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Bothwell: (James Hepburn, Fourth Earl of Bothwell, Third Husband of Mary, Queen of Scots.) An Historical Drama. Charles H. Ludwig, 1884.

8vo, pp. 144.
Illustrated with rare portraits, costumes, views, etc., from authentic originals.
This work has been very favorably reviewed in Scotch, English, and American papers. The great French critic, "Le Livre," No. 56, 10th August, 1884, remarks: "le General de Peyster * * * has made Bothwell, whose name recalls Mary Stuart, the hero of a grand drama admirable to read, impossible to act." Other critics consider that it would act with splendid effect were it not impossible to get together a sufficient number of professionals to fill the parts adequately.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Torstenson, "A Hero of the XVII Century." Torstenson before Vienna: or the Swedes in Austria in 1645–1646, with a Biographical Sketch of Field Marshal Generalissimo Leonard Torstenson. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1885.

8vo, pp. 68, plates.
Edition, 500 copies.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Address at the Annual Meeting of the Third Army Corps, and the Twenty-first Anniversary Banquet of the Third Army Corps Union, held at Sieghortner's, No. 32 Lafayette Place, New York City, on Monday, May 5th, 1885.

8vo, pp. 8.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Gypsies. Information translated and gathered from various sources. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1885.

8vo, pp. 32.
Edition, 500 copies.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. The Massacres of St. Bartholomew outside of Paris, 24th August, 5th September, 1572. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1885.

8vo, pp. 8.
Edition, 500 copies.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Editor. Sailor's Creek to Appomattox Court-House; or the Last Hours of Sheridan's Cavalry. By H. Edwin Tre-

main. Edited and arranged with notes by General de Peyster. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, printer, 1885.

12mo pp. 66.

This is s cond part or conclusion of publication on same subject, entitled: "The Closing Days about Richmond; or the Last Days of Sheridan's Cavalry," by H. Edwin Tremain, Major and A. D. C., Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. V. New York: Waldron & Payne, 37 Park Row, n. d. Original manuscript in rough arranged and edited by General de Peyster, to whom it is dedicated.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Brief de Peyster and Watts Genealogical Reference, with partial list of authorities. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1886.

8vo, pp. 8.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, of Pennsylvania, Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General U. S. A., Major-General U. S. V., Chief of Staff and Commander of the combined Second-Third Corps, Army of the Potomac, Chief of Engineers U. S. A. Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Intelligencer print, 1886.

8vo, pp. 21, plates.

DE PEYSTER, JOHN WATTS. Francesca da Rimini (a literal translation of a famous episode in Dante's Inferno), with notes. New York: Charles H. Ludwig, 1886.

8vo, pp. 8.

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WILSON, JAMES. Speech on the Federal Constitution, delivered in Philadelphia.

[DICKINSON, JOHN.] Letters of Fabius on the Federal Constitution.

[HANSON, ALEXANDER CONTEE.] Remarks on the Proposed Plan of a Federal Government. By Aristides.

RANDOLPH, EDMUND. Letter on the Federal Constitution.

[LEE, RICHARD HENRY.] Observations on the System of Government proposed by the late Convention. By a Federal Farmer.

MASON, GEORGE. Objections to the Federal Constitution.

[IREDELL,] JAMES. Observations on George Mason's Objections to the Federal Constitution. By Marcus.

[RAMSAY, DAVID.] An Address to the Freemen of South Carolina on the Federal Constitution. By Civis.

"Of all the able writings by our great statesmen in favor of or opposition to the ratification of our national Constitution, *The Federalist* alone is really accessible to the student and historian: the rest, for the most part published anonymously, having suffered the usual fate of pamphlets, and are now only to be found, widely scattered, and without marks of identification, in our public and private libraries, rendering their examination so difficult that, as a class, they have been singularly neglected in the study of that instrument."—*Prospectus.*

Reviewed by President James C. Welling in *The Nation*, XLVIII, p. 56, January 17, 1889; by St. Clair McKelway in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, October 21, 1889; by W. F. Whitber in the *Boston Traveler*, December 7, 1888; in the *Springfield Republican*, February 11, 1889; in the *New York Tribune*, December 24, 1889; and in the *Boston Post*, February 14, 1889.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Bibliography and Reference List of the History and Literature relating to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, 1787–'88. By Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y., 8vo. pp. 61.

250 copies printed.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Review of "Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana: A list of books written by or relating to Thomas Jefferson. By Hamilton Bullock Tompkins."

Political Science Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 2, June, 1888.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. A list of the members of the Federal Convention of 1787. By Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1888.

1888.

16mo, pp. (2) 15.

Privately printed. Edition, 100 copies.

In 1819 when John Quincy Adams, by direction of Congress, edited and published the "Journal of the Federal Convention," he drew up from the commissions, etc.,

filed by the attending delegates a list of the members. * * * This list was accepted and republished by Elliot in his "Debates in the State Conventions," by Curtis in his "History of the Constitution," and more recently, in the "Official Programme of the Constitutional Centennial" * * * Thus, this list prepared in 1819 has become a fixture, and both students and autograph collectors have accepted it as correct. There are, however, several omissions, and by reference to original documents, acts, journals, etc., I have increased the list to seventy-four names. To this I have added in such cases as I have been able the reasons of members for declining the appointment, and for the non-attendance of such as failed to be present in the convention; the day of arrival of the attending members; their absences, the date of leaving of those who failed to sign the Constitution, with their reasons, and the part the non-attending or non-signing members took in their own States in support of or opposition to the ratification.—*Extract from preface.*

Originally printed in the *The Collector*, Vol. II, Nos. 13 and 14, September and October, 1888. Reprinted by permission in L. C. Draper's "Essay on the Autographic Collections of the Signers," New York, 1889.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. The Authorship of "Plain Truth."

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XII, No. 4, January, 1889. 8vo, pp. 421-424.

Relates to the authorship of a tract in reply to Paine's "Common Sense," which had been variously ascribed to the pens of Richard Wells, Alexander Hamilton, William Inglis, Joseph Galloway, and George Chalmers, and which is here claimed for the Rev. William Smith.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XII, No. 2, July, 1889. 8vo, pp. 222-226.

An account and collation of a rare French periodical relating to the American Revolution.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Review of "Benjamin Franklin. By John T. Morse, jr."

Political Science Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 4, December, 1889. 8vo, pp. 667-668.]

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Check-list of American Magazines Printed in the Eighteenth Century. By Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889.

Sm. 4to, pp. 12.

250 copies printed.

Within the covers of this quarto pamphlet are given the titles of thirty-eight magazines, many of great rarity and historic importance, both from their matter and illustrations. With each title, when possible, is given a list of the issues from the commencement to the end of each magazine, together with dates, collations, illustrations, and notes, giving the editors, histories, and other facts of value. * * * The list, as the title shows, has been prepared especially as a "check-list," being printed on one side of the paper in single columns, thus leaving room for checking as well as for additions and corrections. For libraries and collectors it will be of great use for supplying information never before put in print.—Review from *The Collector*, III, 40.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Who was the Mother of Franklin's Son? An Historical Conundrum, hitherto given up, now partly answered by Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889.

Sm. 4to, pp. 15.

Only 100 copies, privately printed.

Mr. Edmund Quincy declared this question the "one mystery of Franklin's life." Mr. Sparks "looked it up in vain." Mr. Alexander Dallas Bache "considered it as past finding out." Professor McMaster states that it "is not known." Mr. John T. Morse says "no record or tradition remains," nor has any other publicist or historian brought forward the facts here put in print.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Check List of Bibliographies, Catalogues, Reference Lists, and Lists of Authorities of American Books and Subjects. Compiled by Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889.

Sm. 4to, pp. 64.

500 copies, printed in single column, on one side of paper only.

This list * * * contains one thousand and seventy (1,070) titles, being over seven hundred more than have hitherto been catalogued in Sabin's, Jackson's, and Vallee's Bibliographies of Bibliography. It includes not only separate bibliographies of these subjects, but also those forming parts of other books. Unlike all former lists, the arrangement is by subject under nineteen divisions and one hundred and fifty subdivisions, with a classification of contents and an author's index.—*Prospectus.*

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. List of some Briefs in Appeal Causes which relate to America, tried before the Lords Commissioners of Appeals of Prize Causes of His Majesty's Privy Council, 1736-1758. By Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889.

8vo, pp. 20.

250 copies, printed on one side of paper only.

The lack of material for the study and history of American trade and commerce before the Revolution is so great that it hardly requires mention. In the writings of Charles Davenant, Josiah Child, Joshua Gee, William Douglas, John Ashley, Edmund Burke, Adam Smith, and in a few fugitive pamphlets is more or less matter on this subject, but it is at best imperfect and fragmentary. Yet this topic is not only important from an economic point of view, but equally so for the history of the causes of our Revolution; for the trade restrictions and admiralty courts on the one side, and the illicit trading and nullification of the English trade laws on the other side, were a most important element in the origin of that war. In the library of Mr. Gordon L. Ford, of Brooklyn, N. Y., are two volumes of practically unknown papers which throw much light on this subject. Originally belonging to Chief Justice William Lee and Sir George Lee, members of the privy council, they consist, for the most part, of the printed briefs in marine cases arising in the French and Spanish war of 1739-1748, appealed from the admiralty courts in England or in the English colonies to that portion of the privy council severally described as the "Lords Commissioners for Appeals in Prize Causes," the "Committee of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council for Affairs of the Plantations, or the "Lords Commissioners for hearing Appeals from the Plantations in America in Cause of Prize." As in appeal cases now, only enough of these briefs were printed to give the commissioners and the opposing advocates each a copy; and this probably limited the edition to a dozen or fifteen copies, which sufficiently accounts for their rarity and neglect as historical matter. In these legal arguments and statements, however, is a great mass of American naval and commercial history; and these particular copies are given especial value by many long notes of the two Lees, giving their opinions, the positions of the different members of the privy council, and also the decisions of that body. To make these papers better known I have prepared a list of all that treat of American trade, to which I have added a few notes.—*Preface.*

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER, Editor. Great Words from Great Americans. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, Washington's Inaugural and Farewell Addresses, Lincoln's Inaugural and Farewell Addresses, etc. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, [1889].

12 mo, pp. (2) 207; 2 portraits.

Contains an historical appendix, giving a brief history of the origin of each of these "Great Words," by Paul Leicester Ford. An earlier edition, entitled, "The Ideals of the Republic," contained only a small part of this.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. The Inauguration of our Government.
Harper's Weekly, XXXIII, May 4, 1889. pp. 348-364.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Franklin Bibliography. A list of books written by or relating to Benjamin Franklin. By Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889.

8vo, pp. lxxi, 467.

500 copies printed, on one side of paper only.

The list contains in all over fifteen hundred titles and references. A number of these have never been catalogued or printed as Franklin's, and many are of great rarity, while the notes definitely settle some of the disputed questions in his life and writings. It has been made uniform with Mr. Bigelow's edition of Franklin's writings (except that fewer copies have been printed), so that it may be made a supplementary volume to that work.—*Prospectus.*

Reviewed by Lindsay Swift in the *Boston Post*, November 29, 1889; by St. Clair McKelway in the Brooklyn Eagle, September 22, 1889; *New York Times*, October 13, 1889; *New York Tribune*, September 30, 1889; *The Nation*, December 5, 1889; *The Evening Post*, December 7, 1889; *Springfield Republican*, September 27, 1889; by F. D. Stone, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XIII, p. 489; *The Critic*, and *The Athenæum*.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER. Biographical Sketches of Deceased Members of the New England Society of the City of Brooklyn. 1886-1889.

In sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth *Annual Reports*.

4 vols. 8vo.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. James Freeman and King's Chapel, 1782-'87. A Chapter in the Early History of the Unitarian Movement in New England. Reprinted from *The Religious Magazine*. Boston: Leonard C. Bowles, 1873.

8vo, pp. 29.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. In Memory of Charles Sumner. Sermon preached at King's Chapel, Sunday, March 22, 1874, and Services at the Funeral, March 16, 1874. Published by request of the Wardens and Vestry. Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1874.

8vo, pp. 48.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. The Wisdom from Above. Sermon preached at King's Chapel, Sunday, January 3, 1875, occasioned by the Death of Rev. James Walker, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard University. Printed by request. Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers, 1875.

8vo, pp. 48.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. King's Chapel and the Evacuation of Boston. A Discourse given in King's Chapel, Sunday, March 12, 1876. Printed by request. Boston: George H. Ellis, 1876.

8vo, pp. 23.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. The Rise of Dissenting Faiths and the Establishment of the Episcopal Church. In "The Memorial History of Boston, Vol. I. Edited by Justin Winsor." Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., 1880.

Chap. IV, pp. 191-217.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. A Discourse on the Russian Victories, given in King's Chapel, March 25, 1813. By the Rev. James Freeman, D. D. And a Catalogue of the Library, given by King William III to King's Chapel in 1695. With Introductory Remarks by Henry Wilder Foote. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, March and May, 1881. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1881.

8vo, pp. 22.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. Annals of King's Chapel from the Puritan Age of New England to the present day. In two Volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1882.

8vo, pp. I-XV, 551, 7 portraits, 7 plates, fac-simile.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. The Centenary of the King's Chapel Liturgy. Discourse by Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, and Address by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D. D., given in King's Chapel, Sunday, April 12, 1885. Printed by request of the Wardens and Vestry. Boston: G. H. Ellis, 1885.

8vo, pp. 34.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. The Commemoration by King's Chapel, Boston, of the completion of two hundred years since its foundation, on Wednesday, December 13, 1886. Also Three Historical Sermons. Edited by Henry W. Foote. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1887.

8vo, pp. 200, 16 plates, 9 portraits.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. St. Augustine at Hippo.

Christian Examiner. Vol. LXIX, pp. 258-280.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. Rev. Charles Lowe.

Unitarian Review. Vol. I, pp. 471-478.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. The Puritan Commonwealth.

Unitarian Review. Vol. XVI, pp. 101-124.

FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. John A. Lowell.

Unitarian Review. Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-168.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. The United States Constitution. A list of references. Economic Tracts. No. II. Series of 1880-'81. Political economy and political science. Compiled by W. G. Sumner, David A. Wells, W. E. Foster, R. L. Dugdale, and G. H. Putnam. New York: The Society for Political Education, 67 Madison Avenue, 1881.

12mo, pp. 24-33.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. The literature of civil service reform in the United States. By William E. Foster. Published by the Young Men's Political Club. Providence: Providence Press Company, 1881.

8vo, pp. 15, paper covers.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. The civil service reform movement. By W. E. Foster, author of "The literature of civil service reform in the United States." Boston: Press of Rockwell and Churchill,* 39 Arch Street, 1881.

12mo, pp. 76, paper covers.

* Second edition. George H. Ellis, 1881.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. Stephen Hopkins, a Rhode Island statesman. A study in the political history of the eighteenth century. By William E. Foster. [No. 19, pts. 1 and 2, of Rhode Island Historical Tracts.] Providence: Sidney S. Rider, 1884.

Sm. 4to; pt. 1, pp. xx+196; pt. 2, pp. xii+289.

Subscribed for in advance. Strictly limited to 500 copies. 475 copies, small paper; 25 copies, large paper.

Reviewed in *The Nation*, August 7, 1884, v. 39, p. 117-'18, by W. F. Allen; in *The American*, Philadelphia, August 23, 1884, by J. G. Rosengarten; in *Every Other Saturday*, Boston, August 30, 1884, by J. G. Rosengarten; in *Providence Journal*, June 23, 1884, by Henry Mann; in *Book Notes*, Providence, August 16, 1884, by Sidney S. Rider.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. Early attempts at Rhode Island history, comprising those of Stephen Hopkins and Theodore Foster. Edited by William E. Foster. Including—I. Preface. (W. E. Foster.) II. An Historical account of the planting and growth of Providence. (Stephen Hopkins.) III. Materials for a history of Rhode Island. (Collected by Theodore Foster.) IV. Appendix. (W. E. Foster.) V. Sketch of the life and services of Theodore Foster. (W. E. Foster.)

8vo, pp. 5–134.

Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Volume VII. Providence: Kellogg Printing Company, 1885.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. References to political and economic topics. Prepared by William E. Foster, Librarian of the Providence Public Library, to accompany a series of lectures delivered in Providence, R. I., 1884–'85, under the auspices of the First Congregational Parish. Providence: Providence Press Company, Book Printers, 1885.

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FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. Economic Tracts. No. XVII. References to the history of presidential administrations, 1789–1885. By W. E. Foster, Librarian of Providence Public Library. New York: The Society for Political Education, 31 Park Row, 1885.

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In *Methods of teaching history.* [Pedagogical Library, Vol. I, edited by G. Stanley Hall.] Boston: Gin, Heath & Company, 1885.

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8vo, pp. 36.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. Review of "John Adams, the Statesman of the American Revolution. By Mellen Chamberlain. Boston: The Webster Historical Society, 1884."

The Nation, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 981, April 17, 1884. p. 351.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. Review of "Capt. John Smith, of Willoughby. By Alford, Lincolnshire, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England. Works. 1608–1631. Edited by Edward Arber. [The English Scholar's Library, No. 16.] Birmingham: Published by the editor, 1884."

The Nation, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1001, September 4, 1884. pp. 204, 205.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. Review of "The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut. 1633–1884. Edited by J. Hammond Trumbull, LL. D. In two volumes. Boston: Edward L. Osgood, 1886."

Atlantic Monthly, Vol. LIX, No. 352, February, 1887. pp. 271–273

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. Review of "Franklin in France. From original documents, most of which are now published for the first time. By Edward E. Hale and Edward E. Hale, jr. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1887."

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The Nation, Vol. XLV, No. 1166, November 3, 1887. pp. 355, 356.

FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON. Review of "The United States of North America. Part II. Narrative and Critical History of America. Vol. VII. Edited by Justin Winsor. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888."

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The Nation, Vol. XLIX, No. 1269, October 24, 1889. pp. 337, 338.

Also, "Notes," in *The Nation*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 33, 34, July 10, 1884; Vol. XXXIX, p. 111, August 7, 1884.

FOULKE, WILLIAM DUDLEY. Slav or Saxon. A Study of the Growth and Tendencies of Russian Civilization.

pp. 148.
1,000 copies printed, electrotyped.

FRANCKE, KUNO. Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Schulpoesie des 12ten u. 13ten Jahrhunderts. München: Th. Riedel, 1879.

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FRANCKE, KUNO. Der Architrenius des Johann v. Anville.

Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte, Vol. XX. pp. 475–502. Hannover: Hahn, 1880.

FRANCKE, KUNO. Zur Characteristik des Kardinals Humbert von Silva Candida.

Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschickte, VII, pp. 614–619. 1881.

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pp. 16.

GALLAUDET, EDWARD MINER. Eulogy on Hon. Amos Kendall.

American Annals of the Deaf, Vol. XV, No. 1, January, 1870. 8vo, pp. 37–43.

GALLAUDET, EDWARD MINER. Eulogy on Harvey Prindle Peet.

American Annals of the Deaf, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, April, 1873. 8vo, pp. 112–115.

GALLAUDET, EDWARD MINER. A Manual of International Law. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1886. Second edition.

12mo, pp. 338. First edition, 1879. 1,200 copies.

Contains an historical sketch of the progress of international law, pp. 1–49.

Reviewed in the *New Jersey Law Journal; The Luzerne* (Pa.) *Legal Register; The Buffalo Express; The Philadelphia Times; The Albany Argus; The Boston Evening Transcript; The Bankers' Magazine* (N. Y.); *The Christian Union; The Boston Daily Advertiser; The New York Tribune; The Sunday School Times; The Churchman.*

GALLAUDET, EDWARD MINER. History of the Education of Deaf-Mutes in America.

American Supplement to the Encyclopædia Brittanica, Vol. II. New York, Philadelphia, and London: J. M. Stoddart, 1884.

4to, pp. 556-574.

GALLAUDET, EDWARD MINER. Reminiscences of Thomas MacIntire.

American Annals of the Deaf, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, January, 1886.

8vo, pp. 20-22.

GALLAUDET, EDWARD MINER. Life of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, Founder of Deaf-Mute Instruction in America. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1888.

12mo, pp. 339, 4 portraits, illustrated.

Edition, 1,000 copies.

Reviewed in *The Springfield Republican*, April 4, 1888; *The Christian Register; The Boston Advertiser, The New York Tribune; The Hartford Post; The New York Observer.*

"On the one hundredth anniversary of Dr. Gallaudet's birth, this record of his life is completed and offered to the deaf of America, and their friends, with an assurance of their friendly interest in its publication." Extract from preface, dated December 10, 1887.

GAY, SYDNEY HOWARD. A Popular History of the United States, from the first discovery of the Western Hemisphere by the Northmen to the end of the Civil War. Preceded by a sketch of the Pre-historic Period and the Age of the Mound-Builders. By William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881.

Four volumes. Fully illustrated. Royal 8vo.

Vol. I. 499-1647, pp. xl, 583, 5 steel plates, 12 full-page wood engravings, 8 maps, 275 illustrations in text.

Vol. II. 1630-1744 pp. xxxii, 634, 4 steel plates, 14 full-page wood engravings, 11 full-page maps and plans, 307 illustrations in text.

Vol. III. 1678-1781, pp. xxviii, 655, 4 steel plates, 12 full-page wood engravings, 7 full-page maps and fac-similes, 258 illustrations in text.

Vol. IV. 1779-1865, pp. xxiv, 648, 4 steel plates, 12 full-page wood engravings, 6 full-page maps and fac-similes, 260 illustrations in text.

In numbers—Vol. I, 7 extra steel plates.
Vol. II, 7 extra steel plates.
Vol. III, 8 extra steel plates.
Vol. IV, 9 extra steel plates.

NOTE.—The gentlemen whose able assistance made it possible for Mr. Gay to complete this work in so short a time are mentioned by name in his "Preface" to Vol. II and his Introductory to Vol. IV. The publishers have omitted these prefaces for some years past. They have, however, retained the "Introduction," by Mr. Bryant.

GAY, SYDNEY HOWARD. Why Cornwallis was at Yorktown. By Sydney Howard Gay.

North American Review for October, 1881.

GAY, SYDNEY HOWARD. Landing of the Pilgrims. By Sydney Howard Gay.

Atlantic Monthly for October, 1881.

GAY, SYDNEY HOWARD. American Statesmen, edited by John T. Morse, jr. James Madison, by Sydney Howard Gay. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. New York: 11 East Seventeenth street. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1884.

12mo, pp. 342.

GAY, SYDNEY HOWARD. Amerigo Vespucci. A chapter in Vol. II of the "Narrative and Critical History of America. Edited by Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University, Corresponding Secretary Massachusetts Historical Society." Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1889.

Royal 8vo, pp. 24, 3 portraits, 2 fac-similes.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. A Genealogical and Biographical Record of the Branch of the Family of Gilman descended from the Honourable Councillor John Gilman, of Exeter, N. H. With which is incorporated some account of his ancestors and the English branch of the Gilman Family. Albany: J. Munsell, 1863.

8vo, pp. 51.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. Genealogy of the Gilman Family in England and America; traced in the line of Hon. John Gilman, of Exeter, N. H. Albany: J. Munsell, 1864.

8vo, pp. 64.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. The Gilman Family traced in the line of Hon. John Gilman, of Exeter, N. H., with an account of many other Gilmans in England and America. Albany: J. Munsell, 1869.

Sm. 4to, pp. xii, 324, 6 portraits.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. First Steps in English Literature. An outline of the history of the literature of the English language, for the use of schools in connection with the study of the works of English authors. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

16mo, pp. 233. [Reached its tenth edition in 1876. Revised, 1889.]

GILMAN, ARTHUR. First Steps in General History. A suggestive outline. [For the use of schools.] New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1874.

Pp. x, 385.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. Kings, Queens, and Barbarians, or Tales about Seven Historic Ages. [History for children.] Boston: D. Lothrop Co., 1870.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. Boston, Past and Present, being an outline of the history of the city as exhibited in the lives of its prominent citizens. Cambridge: The Riverside Press.

Folio, pp. xiv, 543.

In this volume (planned and mainly written by others) Mr. Gilman composed the title, the introduction, and sketches of the lives of Sir Henry Vane, Anne Hutchinson, Thomas Prince, Samuel Adams, James Otis, John Quincy Adams, Cardinal de Cheverus, Joseph Story, Amos and Abbot Lawrence, Lowell Mason, Edward Everett, Rufus Choate, Henry W. Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Robert C. Winthrop, John A. Andrew, and James Russell Lowell. The sketches were accompanied by steel portraits.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. Life of Chaucer. "The Times and the Poet." The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Riverside edition. Edited, with Memoir, by Arthur Gilman. Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

3 vols., crown 8vo, pp. CXXVI; 578, 691, 708.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. Magna Charta Stories. Historic Struggles for Freedom, written by Arthur Gilman and others. Boston: D. Lothrop Co., 1882.
12mo.

GILMAN ARTHUR. A History of the American People. Boston: D. Lothrop Co., 1883.
12mo, pp. xxiii, 668.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. Tales of the Pathfinders. Stories of the exploration of America. Boston: D. Lothrop Co.
16mo, pp. 225.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. The Story of Rome from the earliest times to the fall of the Republic. [The Story of the Nations.] New York and London: G. P Putnam's Sons, 1885.
Pp. iv, 353.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. The Story of the Saracens from the earliest times to the fall of Bagdad [The Story of the Nations.] New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1886.
Pp. xvi, 493.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. The Discovery and Exploration of America. A book for American boys and girls. Boston and Chicago: The Interstate Publishing Co., 1887.
Sq. 16mo, pp. 128.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. The Colonization of America. A book for American boys and girls. Boston and Chicago: The Interstate Publishing Co., 1887.
Sq. 16mo, pp. 160.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. The Making of the American Nation. A book for American boys and girls. Boston and Chicago: The Interstate Publishing Co., 1887.
Sq. 16mo, pp. 190.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. The Story of Boston. A Study of Independency. [Great Cities of the Republic]. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889.
8vo, pp. viii, 507.

GILMAN, ARTHUR, editor. Lothrop's Library of Entertaining History.
Series, beginning in 1879, the following volumes in 12mo, illustrated, published by D Lothrop Co., Boston.
India, by Fanny Roper Fenge, pp. 640.
Spain, by Prof. James A. Mackenzie, pp. xxii, 717.
Switzerland, by Harriet D. Slidell, pp. 585.
Egypt, by Mrs. Clara Erskine Clement.
China, by Prof. Robert K. Douglass, pp. 566.

GILMAN ARTHUR,, collaborateur. Story of the Nations.
Collaborateur in 1886-'87 with the authors mentioned in the following books, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons:
Germany, by Sabine-Baring Gould, pp. xvii, 457.
The Moors in Spain, by Stanley Lane-Poole, pp. xx, 285.
Alexander's Empire, by Prof. J. P. Mahaffy, pp. xxii, 323.
Carthage, by Prof. Alfred J. Church, pp. xx, 309.
Turkey, by Stanley Lane-Poole, pp. xx, 373.
Early Egypt, by Prof. George Rawlinson.

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(10) Statistical table. Statistics of the Fisheries of the United States in 1880. Prepared by Messrs. Goode and Earll from the reports of the special agents. Printed in the Compendium of the Tenth Census, p. 1402. pp. 2. Reprinted in Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission, Vol. III, 1883, pp. 270-271, and in Preliminary Catalogue International Fisheries Exhibition facing p. 5.

(11) Statistical table. Table showing by States the quantity of Spanish Mackerel taken in 1880, and the total catch for the United States. By R. Edward Earll. Report United States Fish Commission, Part VIII, 1880, p. 416.

(12) Statistical summary. (Statistics of the Davis Strait Halibut Fishery.) By Newton P. Scudder. Report United States Fish Commission, Part VIII, pp. 190-192.

(13) Statistical summary. (Statistics of the Sword-fish Fishery.) By G. Brown Goode. Report United States Fish Commission, Part VIII, pp. 361-367.

(14) Statistical summaries. Statistics of the Mackerel Fishery in 1880. By R. Edward Earll. Report United States Fish Commission, Part IX, p. (124) (127).

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GOODE, GEORGE BROWN, joint author. The Bank Hand-line Cod Fishery.

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GOODE, GEORGE BROWN, joint author. The Labrador and Gulf of Saint Lawrence Cod Fisheries.

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GOODE, GEORGE BROWN, joint author. Haddock Fishery of New England.

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From the *Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington*, Vol. IV, 1886-'88.

GOODE, GEORGE BROWN. An Interesting Dialogue, in 1676, between Bacon "The Rebel" and John Goode of "Whitby."

Magazine of American History, XVIII, November, 1877, pp. 418-422.

A letter written to Sir William Berkeley by John Goode, a Virginia planter, giving in dialogue form "the full substance of a discourse" between himself and Nathaniel Bacon, which seems to indicate that Bacon was from the beginning of his career in Virginia a seditious personage, and that his rebellion was not the result of Berkeley's failure to support the colonists in their efforts to repel the incursions of the Indians, as Bacon's admirers have sometimes argued, but was premeditated. Dialogue quoted in full from Colonial Entry Book (Public Records Office, London), Vol. LXXI, pp. 232-240.

GOODE, GEORGE BROWN. Memories of Professor Baird.

The Chautauquan, IX, October, 1888, pp. 21-24.

GOODE, GEORGE BROWN. A Brief Biographical Sketch of Professor Baird.

Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution for 1887-'88, pp. 79-89.

GOODE, GEORGE BROWN. Virginia Cousins. A study of the ancestry and posterity of John Goode of Whitby, a Virginia colonist of the Seventeenth Century, with notes upon related families. A key to southern genealogy, and a history of the English surnames Gode, Goud, Goude, or Good, from 1148 to 1887. By G. Brown Goode, with a preface by R. A. Brock, secretary of the Virginia and Southern Historical Society. [Coat of Arms.] Richmond, Virginia: J. W. Randolph & English, MDCCCLXXXVII.

Sm. 4to, pp. i-xxxvi, 1-526. Many portraits.

Reviewed in *Magazine of American History*, XXI, pp. 174, 175; *New England Historic—Genealogical Register*; *Southern Churchman*, September 6, 1888; *Central Presbyterian*, Richmond, September 12, 1888; *Gloucestershire* (England) *Notes and Queries*, January, 1889.

In the study of the American branch of the family an attempt has been made to trace in female as well as in male lines all the descendants for eight generations of a Virginia colonist who settled on the frontier near the falls of the James about 1659.

Incidentally, in connection with the index, a key is given to the literature of all Southern genealogy, and a catalogue of Virginia families which claimed the right to use coats of arms.

Pedigrees, covering at least three generations, are given for the following Virginia families:

Alexander,	Brockenbrough,	Fry,
Andrews,	*Burwell*,	Gaines,
Bacon,	Capehart,	Garland,
Bagwell,	Carlin,	*Goode*,
Ball,	Carrington,	Gordon,
Baptist,	Cary,	Green,
Barksdale,	Chapman,	*Harriss*,
Baskerville,	Claiborne,	*Harrison*,
Beck,	Clarke,	Henry,
Belsches,	*Collier*,	Holt (of Ga.),
Bland,	Daniel,	Horseley,
Blencoe,	Dawson,	Iverson,
Bolling [Pocahontas],	*Dixon*,	Izard (of S. C.),
Botts,	Dupuy,	*Jefferson*,
Bouldin,	*Eggleston*,	Jones,
Boyd,	Fairfax,	*Lemoine*,
Branch,	Feild,	*Lyle*,
Brent,	Finch,	*McKay*,

Marshall,
Mason,
Maury,
Maynard,
Meade,
Megginsas,
Meredith,
Minor,
Morrison,
Mosby,
Murray,
Murrell,
Nelson,
Pocahontas,
Posey,
Powell,
Pryor,
Randolph,
Read,
Rolfe,
Selden,
Sherrod,
Smith,
Southall,
Spotswood,
Stitts,
Tait,
Tatum,
Thornton,
Tucker,
Vaughan,
Venable,
Walker,
Wood,
Wharton.

Also biographical notices of the following persons in public life:

Josiah B. Abbott, of Virginia. [1793-1849.] Editor of the Richmond *Whig*.

Judge Garnett Andrews, of Georgia. [1798-1873.] With portrait.

Col. Garnett Andrews, C. S. A., of Chattanooga. [1837+.] Colonel of Eighth Georgia Battalion.

Fannie Andrews, of Macon, Ga. [1850+.] Novelist.

Col. Franklin K. Beck, C. S. A., of Alabama. [1814-1864.] Killed in battle at "Resaca." Colonel of Twenty-third Alabama Infantry.

Hon. James W. Bouldin.

Col. George W. Brent, C. S. A., of Alexandria. [1821-1872.] Chief of Staff to General Bragg.

Brig. Gen. Goode Bryan, C. S. A. [1811-1885.] Brigadier-General Georgia infantry. [Portrait.]

Maj. Gen. W. P. Carlin, U. S. A. [1829+.] With portrait.

Henry Chadwick, of New York. [1824+.] Journalist.

Col. John Lyle Clarke, C. S. A. [1833+.] Colonel of "Clarke's Battalion of Sharpshooters."

Col. Powhatan Clarke, C. S. A. [1836+.] Professor in Baltimore City College. [Portrait.] Chief of Ordnance Department of Alabama and Mississippi.

General Alfred Cumming, C. S. A. [1829+.] Brigadier-General Georgia infantry.

Hon. Joseph B. Cumming, of Georgia. [1836+.] Colonel of Georgia Infantry.

Hon. John Warwick Daniel, of Virginia. [1842+.] U. S. Senator. With portrait.

Bennett M. DeWitt, of Virginia. Journalist.

General W. S. Fisher, of Texas. [1810-45.] General of Texas troops, and Secretary of War of the Texan Republic.

Col. S. Bassett French, C. S. A., of Virginia. [1827+.] Aide to Governor Letcher, of Virginia.

Hon. Philip Goode Gillett, LL. D. [1833+.] Superintendent of the Illinois Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. With portrait.

Col. C. T. Goode, C. S. A., of Georgia. [1835-'75.] Major Tenth Georgia Infantry; Nineteenth Georgia Cavalry; Colonel Tenth Confederate Cavalry.

Col. Edmund Goode, C. S. A. [1825-'62.] Colonel Fifty-eighth Virginia Infantry. Died in service.

Col. Edmund J. Goode, C. S. A. [1822-'87.] Colonel Seventh Mississippi Infantry.

Hon. John Goode, LL. D., of Virginia. [1829+.] Member of Congress—Solicitor-General of the United States.

Col. J. Thomas Goode, C. S. A., of Virginia. [1835+.] Colonel Thirty-fourth Virginia Infantry. [Portrait.]

Judge Patrick Gaines Goode, of Ohio. [1798-1862.] Portrait. Member of Congress, 1833-1843.

Col. Robert Goode, of the Virginia Continental Army. [1743-1809.]

Hon. Samuel Goode, M. C., of Virginia. [1756-1822.] [Portrait.] Member of Congress, 1799-1801.

Col. Thomas F. Goode, C. S. A., of Virginia. [1825+.] [Portrait.] Colonel Second Virginia Cavalry.

Rev. William H. Goode, D. D.; [1807-1879.] Pioneer Missionary of the M. E. Church; Author; Indian Philanthropist. [Portrait.]

Hon. William O. Goode, of Virginia. [1798-1859.] [Portrait.] Member of Congress, 1841-'43, 1853-'59.

General Alexander A. Greene, C. S. A. [1844–1864.] Killed in battle before Atlanta, Brigadier-General of Alabama Infantry.

William Waller Hening, of Virginia. [1750–1828.] Historian; Author of Virginia Statutes at Large.

Col. Arthur Herbert, C. S. A. Colonel of Seventeenth Virginia Infantry.

Hon. Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia. U. S. Senate.

Judge Thaddeus Goode Holt, jr., of Georgia. [1837–1886.] Confederate Cavalry Officer; Journalist.

Judge Thaddeus Goode Holt, of Georgia. [1793–1873.] Solicitor-General of Georgia.

Gen. Alfred Iverson, C. S. A. [1829+.] [Portrait.] Brigadier General of Cavalry.

Hon. Alfred Iverson, of Georgia. [1799–1873.] U. S. Senate.

Col. B. W Johnson, C. S. A., of Arkansas. [1825+.] Colonel Fifteenth Arkansas Infantry.

Col. Thomas Goode Jones, of Alabama. [1846+.] Governor of Alabama, and Commander of Alabama Troops. [Portrait.]

Col. William Rice Jones, C. S. A. [1846+.] Staff of General Magruder.

Lieut. Lafayette Maynard, U. S. N. [1819–1876.] Officer in Mexican War, and California Pioneer. [Portrait.]

General James L. Minor, of Missouri. [1813+.] Secretary of State, and State Superintendent of Schools.

General Isaac Monroe St. John, C. S. A. [1828–1880.] Commissary-General of the Confederacy; Civil Engineer.

Betsy Hening Schermerhorn, of Virginia. Poet.

Hon. William C. Sherrod, M. C., of Alabama [1831+.]

Col. G. P. Smoots, C. S. A. Tennessee Infantry.

Hon. Charles Tait, of Georgia. [1767–1835.] U. S. Senate

Capt. Seth Brett Thornton, U. S. A. [1815–1847.] Killed before Mexico, August 18, 1847, leader of the first engagement in the Mexican War. [Portrait.]

Col. W. J. Vason, C. S. A., of Georgia. Tenth Confederate Cavalry.

GOODE, GEORGE BROWN. The Depths of the Ocean.

Atlantic Monthly, XIII, January, 1889, pp. 124–128.

A review of Alexander Agassiz's "American Thalassography," with a historical sketch of the deep-sea work of the Agassiz, father and son, in connection with the U. S. Coast Survey.

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Remarks made at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society held June 11, 1885, and reprinted from the *Proceedings*, vol. II, second series, pp. 102–105.

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Edition, 200 copies.

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GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Report of Hon. Samuel A. Green, General Agent, pro tem. To the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund.
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Remarks made at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held June 9, 1887, and reprinted from the *Proceedings*, Vol. III, second series, p. 320.

GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Groton Historical Series. A collection of papers relating to the history of the town of Groton, Massachusetts. By Samuel Abbott Green, M. D. Vol. I. Groton, 1887.

8vo, pp. viii [502].

This volume consists of twenty pamphlets on various subjects, separately paged, that have been issued at different times during the preceding three years.

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8vo, pp 28.

This was made at the annual meeting, October 5, 1886, and was dated at Boston, October 1, 1887.

GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. The Population of Groton at Different Times, with some notes on the Provincial Census of 1765. A Paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society on May 10, 1888, and now Reprinted from Proceedings. By Samuel Abbott Green, M. D. Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1888.

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The map is a lithographic copy, the same size as the original "Wine Hills" map, made by the Heliotype Printing Company, Boston.

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8vo, pp. 4.

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GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Remarks on a MS. Volume containing certain Minutes of the Massachusetts General Court, 1749, 1750.

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GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Some Indian Names.

8vo, pp. 3.

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GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Journal kept by Sergeant David Holden, of Groton, Mass., during the latter part of the French and Indian war, February 20–November 29, 1760. With Notes and an Introduction by Samuel A. Green, M. D. Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1889.

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GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Remarks on Benjamin Tompson's Elegy on John Woodmancy and Ezekiel Cheever.

8vo, pp. 2, 1 plate.

Read at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October 10, 1889, and reprinted from the *Proceedings*, Vol. V, second series, pp. 2, 3. The plate is a lithographic copy of the elegy, the same size as the original, made by the Heliotype Printing Company, Boston.

GREEN, SAMUEL SWETT. Gleanings from the Sources of the History of the Second Parish, Worcester, Massachusetts. From Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April 25, 1883. Worcester: Press of Charles Hamilton, 311 Main street, 1883.

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GREEN, SAMUEL SWETT. The use of the voluntary system in the maintenance of ministers in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay during the earlier years of their existence. The historical portion of the report of the council of the American Antiquarian Society, presented at the semi-annual meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 28, 1886. Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.: Press of Charles Hamilton, 311 Main street, 1886.

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GREEN, SAMUEL SWETT. Public Libraries of Worcester. 1889.

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100 copies.

Reprinted from *History of Worcester County, Massachusetts*. Compiled under the supervision of D. Hamilton Hurd. The paper constituted Chapter CLXXXII of that history.

GRIFFIS, WILLIAM ELLIOT. The Recent Revolutions in Japan.
North American Review, April, 1875, Vol. CXX, No. CCXLVII.

GRIFFIS, WILLIAM ELLIOT. Two Hundred Years of Church Life, 1680–1880. Historical Discourse delivered in the First Reformed Church of Schenectady, N. Y., on the occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary, June 20, 1880. The Schenectady First Church Memorial, Schenectady, N. Y. James H. Barhyte.
500 copies of the *Memorial* printed; 25 copies of the sermon separately.

GRIFFIS, WILLIAM ELLIOT. Corea, the Hermit Nation. I, Ancient and Mediæval History. II, Political and Social Corea. III, Modern and Recent History. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882.
8vo, pp. 474, map and 23 plates.
Third edition, 1889.
Printed in all, 2,500 copies.
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The Proceedings of the Albany Institute.
Separately printed, pamphlet 8vo, pp. 12.
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KELLING, HENRY. Municipal History, a Condensed Review of the Government of Walla Walla City, from its organization to the present time.

Published as a supplement to the *Walla Walla Daily Statesman*, August 7, 1888.

Would make a 20-page, 8vo pamphlet, in which shape it will soon be privately printed.

KELSEY, FRANCIS WILLEY. The Genesis of Modern Free Institutions.

The New Englander, Vol. VII, No. 40, new series, July, 1884, 8vo, pp. 487-500.

KELSEY, FRANCIS WILLEY. The States General of France.

I. The Origin of the States General. *The New Englander*, Vol. VII, No. 42, new series, November, 1884, pp. 764-787.

II. The Constitution of the States General. *The New Englander*, Vol. VIII, January, 1885, pp 25-50.

III. The Powers and Functions of the States General. *The New Englander*, Vol. VIII, September, 1885, pp. 690-705; also Vol. VIII, November, 1885, pp. 818-828.

IV. The Causes of the Decline of the States General. *The New Englander*, Vol. IX, October, 1886, pp. 836-850.

KELSEY, FRANCIS WILLEY. Cæsar's Gallic War. The Latin text, with historical Introduction (pp. 1-46), notes, and vocabulary. By Francis W. Kelsey. Boston: John Allyn, 1886.

8vo, pp. (7) 500.

Fourth revised edition, Boston, Allyn & Bacon, 1890.

Number of copies in the four editions, 21,000.

Illustrated with 6 chromo-lithograph plates, portrait of Cæsar, map of Gaul; and 14 battle plans in two colors, based upon the plans in the Atlas published with Napoleon's "Histoire de Jules César."

Noticed in *The Nation*, New York, Val. XLIV, No. 1124, January 13, 1887, p. 34; *The Critic*, New York, Vol. VII, No. 164, February 19, 1887, p. 89.

KELSEY, FRANCIS WILLEY. M. Tulli Ciceronis Cato Maior de Senectute, Laetius de Amicitia. With introductions and notes by James S. Reid, M. L., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. American edition, revised by Francis W. Kelsey. Boston: John Allyn, 1882. Third edition, 1887.

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The introductions (pp. 39) discuss Cicero as a philosopher and the matter of the dialogues.

KELSEY, FRANCIS WILLEY. Xenophon's Anabasis. Books I-IV. Edited by Francis W. Kelsey and Andrew C. Zenos. With an historical introduction [pp. 1-49] by Francis W. Kelsey, Ph. D., Professor in the University of Michigan. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1889.

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Illustrated with 4 chromo lithograph plates, a map, and 6 plans showing military movements.

KELSEY, FRANCIS WILLEY. T. Lucreti Cari de Rerum Natura Libri Sex. With an introduction and notes to Books I, III, and V. By Francis W. Kelsey. Boston: John Allyn, 1884.

pp. 444.

Edition, 1,000 copies. Second edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1389.

The introduction (pp. 50) discusses the life and personality of Lucretius, his mission in philosophy, and his rank as a poet.

Notices: *The Academy* (London), No. 676, April 15, 1885; *The Presbyterian Review*, July, 1885, p. 582.

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8vo, pp. 144. Illustrated. 1,000 copies.

KELTON, DWIGHT H. Indian Names and History of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. 1889.
8vo, pp. 32, illustrated, 1,500 copies.

KELTON, DWIGHT H. Indian Names of Places near the Great Lakes. Vol. I. 1888.
8vo, pp. 55. 500 copies.
Vol. 2, 64 pp., now in press. All of the "Indian Names" were written by the eminent philologist and Indian scholar, the late Very Rev. Edward Jacker, of Michigan. In compliance with his request he was not credited with being the author.

KING, HORATIO. History of the Beginning of the Rebellion. A brief account ("by our own correspondent," New York *Times*, under date November 27, 1865) of plots and conspiracies in Washington City and vicinity in the winter of 1861.

KING, HORATIO. Paper in defence of James Buchanan, embracing private letters from him touching the civil war, the assassination of President Lincoln, etc.
New York Galaxy, October, 1870.

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Century Magazine, New York, December, 1881.

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KING, HORATIO. "The Genesis of the Civil War," a critique on General Samuel W. Crawford's book under that title, and in vindication of the administration of President Buchanan.

National Republican, Washington, February 2, 1888, and *New York Sunday Star*, February 5-12, 1888.

KING, JOHN ALSOP. The Framing of the Federal Constitution and the Causes leading thereto. [Address delivered by Mr. King, President of the New York Historical Society, on its 83d Anniversary, on the 15th day of November, 1887, and printed by order of the Society in 1888.]

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KING, RUFUS. American Commonwealths. Ohio: First Fruits of the Ordinance of 1787. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888.

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Edition, 1,500 copies.

Reviewed in: *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette; Cleveland Leader; Chicago Times; Buffalo Express; Boston Advertiser, Traveller, Transcript*, and *Post; New York Evening Post, Nation*, and *Critic; Philadelphia Ledger; Penn School Journal; Bethlehem Moravian; The Capitol*, Washington.

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In printed papers of the Michigan Pioneer Society, 885.

KNIGHT, GEORGE WELLS. History of Educational Progress in Ohio. By George W. Knight, Ph. D. Columbus, Ohio: Henry Howe & Son, 1888–'89.

A special chapter in "The History of Ohio," by Henry Howe, two volumes.

LADD, HORATIO OLIVER. Elements of Natural Science in our Public Schools. By Prof. Horatio O. Ladd, Principal of State Normal School, Plymouth, N. H. A lecture before the American Institute of Instruction.

The Annual Publication of the Institute, 1876, 8vo, pp, 13.

LADD, HORATIO OLIVER. A memorial of John S. C. Abbott, D. D. By Rev. Horatio O. Ladd. Boston: A. Williams & Co., 283 Washington street, 1878.

8vo, pp. 40, 1 plate.
Edition, 300 copies.

LADD, HORATIO OLIVER. Minor Wars of the United States. History of the War with Mexico. By Horatio O. Ladd, A. M. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, Publishers.

8vo, pp. 328. 3 plates.

LADD, HORATIO OLIVER. Indian Education in the Southwest.

An open letter in *Century Magazine*, 1888.

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LADD, HORATIO OLIVER. The Ramona School for Apache Girls. By Horatio O. Ladd, A. M.

Wide Awake, September, 1889.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Lyme. A Chapter of American Genealogy. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Harper's Magazine, Vol. LII, No. 3, February, 1876, 8vo, pp. 313-328, illustrated.

This article includes a historical sketch of the career of Chief Justice Waite, with genealogy of his family.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Newark, New Jersey. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Harper's Magazine, Vol. LIII, No. 5, October, 1876, 8vo, pp. 660-678, illustrated.

This historic sketch of the city of Newark includes family genealogy to some extent, and an elaborate picture of the industries of the place.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Tombs in Old Trinity. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Harper's Magazine, Vol. LIII, No. 6, November, 1876, 8vo, pp. 865-876, illustrated.

Historic and biographical sketches of several noted Americans contained in this paper.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. State and Society in Washington. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Harper's Magazine, Vol. LVI, No. 4, March, 1878, 8vo, pp. 481-500, illustrated.

This was the first magazine article ever written on the various features of the State Department at Washington.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The Coast Survey. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Harper's Magazine, Vol. LVIII, No. 4, March, 1879, 8vo, pp. 506-521, illustrated.

This historic sketch of the Coast Survey was the first ever written in popular style for the general reader, and has been adopted as a text-book in some of the schools.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The Homes of America. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1879.

Imperial 8vo, pp. 236, 100 illustrations.

This work is divided into the colonial period, the later period, and the modern period, with sketches of representative homes in each, and the progress of domestic architecture is traced through the decades.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Historical Sketch of New York City for the Tenth Census. Report on the Social Statistics of Cities. Vol. XVIII. Part I. 1880. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. Washington, D. C.: Department of the Interior.

Square folio, pp. 25.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. History of the City of New York. Its Origin, Rise, and Progress. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1880-'81.

2 vols., royal 8vo, pp. 1020, 313 illustrations. Edition, 7,000 copies.

The work has been reviewed in upwards of two thousand leading periodicals in America and Europe.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Biography of Dr. John D. Russ. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. Printed for private circulation, 1881.

Square 12mo. pp. 100. Edition 200 copies.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The American Life-Saving Service. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Christmas Season in Dutch New York. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. X, No. 6, December, 1883, 8vo, pp. 471-474.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Wall Street in History. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. New York: Published by Funk & Wagnalls, 1883.

Square octavo, pp. 95, 94 illustrations.

This work gives in concise, popular, and authentic form the most notable events which have rendered Wall street famous; its early history, its associations with the political, social, and monetary life of New York, and its many sided picturesque features during the centuries past.

Originally appeared in the *Magazine of American History* for May, June, and July, 1883.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Brissot De Warville. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The Van Rensselaer Manor. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XI, No. 1, January, 1884, 8vo, pp. 1-32, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. William III of England. His Influence on America. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. A Glimpse of the Valley of Many Waters. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Unsuccessful Candidates for the Presidency of the Nation. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XII, Nos. 5 and 6, November, 1884, December, 1884, 8vo, pp. 385-413, 481-502, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The Manor of Gardiner's Island. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XIII, No. 1, January, 1885, 8vo, pp. 1–30, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The Framers of the Constitution. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XIII, No. 4, April, 1885, 8vo, pp. 313–345, illustrated.

This important paper was written by request and read before the Rhode Island Historical Society preparatory to the celebration of the Constitution at Philadelphia.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Elizabeth. England's Sovereign from 1558 to 1603. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XIII, No. 6, June, 1885, 8vo, pp. 568–572.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. March of the New York Seventh Regiment. The Great Uprising in New York City in 1861. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XIV, No. 1, July, 1885, 8vo, pp. 58–68, illustrated.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. General Grant's Resting Place. Its Historic Associations. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Historic Homes. The Brooklyn House of Philip Livingston, the Signer. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The New-Year's Holiday. Its Origin and Observances. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Van Cortlandt Manor-House. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. A Neglected Corner of the Metropolis. Historic Homes in Lafayette Place. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. An Illustrated Chapter of Beginnings. The Founder, Presidents, Homes, and Treasures of the New York Historical Society. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. One New England Thanksgiving. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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This paper was copied as a whole into the *Library of American Literature*, by Stedman & Hutchinson.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Historic Homes on Golden Hills. What an Out-of-the-way Town has Given to the World. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XVII, No. 3, March, 1887, 8vo, pp. 217–232, illustrated.

The above sketch relates to Plainfield, Mass., and its many historic characters.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Henry Ward Beecher. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XVII, No. 4, April, 1887, 8vo, pp. 307–309.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The White House and its Memories. Historic Homes of our Presidents. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Governor Robert Monckton. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Henry Laurens in the London Tower. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. A Love Romance in History. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, August, 1887, 8vo, pp. 150–153.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The Origin of New York. Glimpse of the Famous Dutch West India Company. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Our Country Fifty Years Ago. Some Incidents in Connection with Lafayette's Visit. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, December, 1887, 8vo, pp. 457–477, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Thurlow Weed's Home in New York City. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January, 1888, 8vo, pp. 1–20, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. George Washington. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Unpublished Washington Portraits. Some of the Early Artists. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XIX, No. 4, April, 1888, 8vo, pp. 273–285, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Alfred Smith Barnes. Half a Century as a School Book Publisher. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XIX, No. 5, May, 1888, 8vo, pp, 361-373, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Chief-Justice Morrison Remick Waite. His Home in Washington. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XX. No. 1, July, 1888, 8vo, pp. 1-16, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. About Philadelphia in 1750. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XX, No. 2, August, 1888, 8vo, pp 104-108.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Marietta, Ohio, 1788-1888. Foundation of Civil Government beyond the Ohio River. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XX, No. 3, September, 1888, 8vo, pp. 169-192, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The Inauguration of Washington, 1789. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XX, No. 6, December, 1888, 8vo, pp. 433-460, illustrated.

This paper was written by special request, and read by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb before the New York Historical Society at the opening meeting of the season, October 2, 1888. It was the initial paper on the subject.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Historic Homes and Landmarks. Their Significance and Present Condition. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XXI, No, 1, January, 1889, and No. 2, March, 1889, pp. 1-23 and pp. 177-207; Vol. XXII, No. 3, September, 1889. 8vo, pp. 177-203, illustrated.

These papers embody much fresh material and the result of researches never before made.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Washington as President, 1789-1790. New York City the Seat of Government. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XXI, No. 2, February, 1889, 8vo, pp. 89-112, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Washington and Some of His Contemporaries. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XXI, No. 4, April, 1889, 8vo, pp. 273-295, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Washington's Historic Luncheon in Elizabeth. The Homes of Elias Boudinot and Governor Livingston. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, Vol. XXI, No. 5, May, 1889, 8vo, pp. 361-380, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Oak Hill, the Home of President Monroe. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

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LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. The Story of the Washington Centennial. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, July, 1889, Vol. XXII, No. 1, 8vo, pp. 1-36, illustrated.

LAMB, Mrs. MARTHA J. Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

Magazine of American History, August, 1889, Vol. XXII, No. 2, 8vo, pp. 158, 159.

LARNED, JOSEPHUS NELSON. Our Money Problem, in the light of the Experience of England with an Inconvertible Paper Currency.

The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. xxv, No. 151, May, 1870, 8vo, pp. 615–626.

LARNED, JOSEPHUS NELSON. Letters, Poems, and Selected Prose Writings of David Gray. [Edinburgh, Scotland, 1836; Buffalo, New York, 1888.] Edited, with a Biographical Memoir, by J. N. Larned. Buffalo: The Courier Company, Printers, 1888.

2 vols., 12mo, pp. viii, 351, 408, portrait.
Privately printed.
Edition, 1,700 copies.
Contents: Vol. I, biographical memoir, pp. 1–208; poems, pp. 209–310; lectures and miscellany, 311–351; Vol. II, letters of travel.

LEA, HENRY CHARLES. Superstition and Force. Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture. Philadelphia, 1866.

12mo, pp. 552, not electrotyped.
Second edition, 1870; third edition, 1878.

LEA, HENRY CHARLES. An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church. 1867.

8vo. pp. 682, not electrotyped.
Second edition, 1884.

LEA, HENRY CHARLES. Studies in Church History. The Rise of the Temporal Power; Benefit of Clergy; Excommunication; the Early Church and Slavery. 1869.

12mo, pp. 602, not electrotyped.
Second edition, 1884

LEA, HENRY CHARLES. A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. 1888.

3 vols., 8vo, pp. 583, 587, 736, electrotyped.
Reviewed in *English Historical Review*, October, 1888, by Lord Acton; *Annales de Bibliographie Théologique*, 15 Juin, 1888, by Édouard Montet; *Revue Historique*, Mai-Juin, 1889, by Charles V. Langlois; *Archivio Veneto*, Tom. xxxv, Parte II, 1888, by Emilio Camba; *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie v, T. II, 1889, by Count Balzani; *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1888, No. 23, by Fr. Heinr Reusch; *Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift*, 1889, H. 4, by Wilhelm Bernardi.
Also, recent essays in periodicals on "Confiscation for Heresy in the Middle Ages," *English Historical Review*, April, 1887; "El Santo Niño de la Guardia," *Ibid.*, April, 1889; "Indulgences in Spain," *Transactions of American Church History Society*, Vol. I, 1889; "The Martyrdom of San Pedro Arbués," *Papers of American Historical Association*, 1889.

LEEDS, JOSIAH WOODWARD. The Primitive Christians' Estimate of War and Self-Defence. By Josiah W. Leeds.

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Ignatius, of Antioch.

New Vienna, Ohio, Peace Association of Friends in America, 1876.

16mo, pp. 60.

LEEDS, JOSIAH WOODWARD. A History of the United States of America. Including some Important Facts mostly omitted in the Smaller Histories. Designed for General Reading and for Academies. By Josiah W. Leeds. Third edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1881.

12mo, pp. 479, maps. Three editions, 2,250 copies, electrotyped.

Occupies the view-point of peace and the amicable determination of international differences. A copy being sent to the eminent French historian, Rosseuw Saint-Hilaire, he responded that he would present it to the historical section of the Institute of France, "explaining the special stand-point from which it had been written." Anibal Pinto, President of the Republic of Chili, having received a copy (1880) while engaged in the war with Peru and Bolivia, replied to the author that he would have gladly submitted the claims of his country to arbitration, and he would rejoice to see the end of the war in which he was then embroiled.

Reviewed (by Elihu Burritt) in *Literary World*, November, 1877, *The Nation*, January 10, 1878, *Herald of Peace*, London, August, 1877.

LEEDS, JOSIAH WOODWARD. A Smaller History of the United States. By Josiah W. Leeds, Author of a Larger "History of the United States." Philadelphia, 528 Walnut Street: Published for the Author, 1889

12mo, pp. 305, illustrated.

Four editions, 2,950 copies, electrotyped. (The previous editions were published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1882-'86).

There are 55 illustrations, including maps, but no representations of battles. The wars are all narrated, though briefly. "As a compensation, it is hoped, for brevity in the direction which has been indicated, space has been found for the insertion of a lengthy chapter upon the work of the various government departments, wherein the student will obtain an insight into such useful matters of current history and administration as the coast survey, the life-saving and weather signal services, immigration, the revenue, the public lands, the geological survey of the Territories, etc. * * * Finally, in lieu of any teaching which might seem to support so narrow and mischievous a political maxim as that which declares for "my country, right or wrong," the attempt has been made through the lessons deducible from our history to magnify the truthfulness of that noble and more Christian motto of our late President, 'I would rather be beaten in the right than succeed in the wrong.'"—*Extract from Preface.*

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The use of the word "rebel," as applied to our forefathers by Dr. Inglis in a letter quoted in this discourse, was made the occasion of a sensational cablegram to the *New York World* bitterly assailing the preacher, who, without his knowledge, had been the preceding day unanimously elected by the Synod at Halifax, Novia Scotia, Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia. The *New York World* subsequently published a communication denying the charges brought against the preacher by its London correspondent.

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"I also read a paper on 'The Sources of our Early History,' which was published in the papers.

"I prepared and read before the Historical Society two papers, one upon the 'History of Michigan from its Surrender to the United States by Great Britain in 1795 to the Organization of the Territorial Government in 1805,' and also an elaborate paper on 'Governor Hull and the Civil Administration of Michigan, from its organization as a Territory from 1805 to 1812.' These were published at length in the newspapers.

"In 1871 I prepared and read before the Historical Society of Wisconsin a paper entitled 'The Northwest during the Revolution.' It was the result of much careful and original research. It was well received, and the society published it in pamphlet form, and subsequently included it in the Historical Collections of Wisconsin. It was also published in a volume of the Michigan Pioneer Collections."

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In Vol. II: Estates, Sites, and Maps of Boston, The Maps of the Revolutionary Period.

In Vol. IV: Libraries in Boston.

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